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## BOEOTIAN VASES WITH WOMEN'S HEADS

A. D. URE

PLATES 66-72

**I**N Volume 53 of the *American Journal of Archaeology* Professor Franklin P. Johnson published a black-figured lebes in the University of Chicago.<sup>1</sup> It has a frieze of palmettes and birds round the body, a lid decorated simply with bars and a zigzag, and a knob of the "pagoda" shape used in the Branteghem workshop.<sup>2</sup> Professor Johnson illustrated also a vase of similar shape in Thebes, which has a frieze of animals in silhouette on the body, and on the lid a woman's head in Red Figure.<sup>3</sup> Heads of this description—some individual and distinguished, some commonplace—were a favourite form of decoration on Boeotian vases of the latter part of the fifth century and the early fourth. Dr. Lullies in his important discussion of Boeotian Red Figure refers only briefly to the little kraters that form the bulk of this series.<sup>4</sup> I propose to list here those known to me, showing something of their relation to more ambitious vases, and bringing into connection with them vases of other shapes with similar decoration.

### BELL KRATERS

(1) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.232. Pl. 66, figs. 1-3; *Samson Collection Canessa* (1904) 76 no. 262. *A.* Woman at a laver. *B.* Hippocamp. Lid: woman's head.

(2) Bowdoin College 23.32. Pl. 68, figs. 9-10; 71, fig. 25. *A.* Heads of youth (or possibly Amazon) and horse. *B.* Palmette. Beneath handles: vine leaf. Lid: woman's head.

(3) Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 3061. *AM* 65 (1940) pl. 25. *A.* Woman's head. *B.* Palmette between vertical bands of key pattern. Below, chain pattern. Beneath handles: palmette with side tendrils. Lid: woman's head.

(4) New York, Metropolitan Museum GR 1220. Pl. 70, fig. 17; 71, figs. 26, 29. *A.* Woman's head. *B.* Palmette. Beneath handles: palmette with side tendrils.

(5) Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 612. Pl. 71, fig. 27; *AA* 1933 39 fig. 39. *A.* Woman's head. *B.* Palmette. Beneath handles: palmette with side tendrils.

The following all have on one side a woman's head, on the other a palmette, beneath the handles a stemless ivy leaf.

(6) Athens 1332. Pl. 69, fig. 13.

(7) Reading University 53.8.4.

(8) Reading University 35.iv.5. Pl. 70, fig. 18; 71, fig. 28.

My warm thanks are due to Miss Christine Alexander, Dr. Ludwig W. Böhm, Dr. Niels Breitenstein, Mr. P. Devambez, Professor H. Diepolder, Professor Einar Gjerstad, Professor R. Hampe, Mr. D. B. Harden, Mrs. S. Karouzou, Professor E. Langlotz, Mr. Gene E. McCormick, Mr. Albert S. Roe, and Professor W. Züchner for permission to publish vases in New York, Mannheim, Copenhagen, the Louvre, Munich, Lund, Mainz, Oxford, Athens, Bonn, Washington, Bowdoin College, and Würzburg. I am also very much indebted to Sir John Beazley for drawing my attention to the kraters in Bowdoin College and Washington; to Dr. A. Cambitoglou for resigning to me the publication of the krater in Lund; to Dr. G. Hafner for information about the krater numbered 7 in my list; to Dr. R. Lullies for pointing out the kylix in Mannheim and to Dr. R. Pfaff-Giesberg for enabling me to study it; to Dr. B. Neutsch and Dr. W. Schiering for most generously supplying me with photographs. Miss Richter and Dr. D. von Bothmer have very kindly answered enquiries about the vases in New York, and Professor Franklin P. Johnson about the lebes in Chicago.

<sup>1</sup> *AJA* 53 (1949) 244 f. pl. XXXIV, XXXV A.

<sup>2</sup> *BSA* 41 (1940-45) 22 pl. 6.1.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. XXXV B, C.

<sup>4</sup> *AM* 65 (1940) 21. Referred to here as "Lullies."

- (9) Lund University 342. Pl. 70, fig. 20.  
 (10) Mainz University. Pl. 70, fig. 19; 71, fig. 30.  
 (11) Washington, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Wm. A. Clark Collection 26.690. Pl. 70, fig. 21; 71, fig. 31.  
 (12) Thebes 71.  
 (13) Thebes unnumbered. Handles lost.  
 (14) Athens, in a private collection.

#### CALYX KRATERS

- (15) Würzburg 646. E. Langlotz *Gr. Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich 1932) pl. 220. Between vertical bands of key pattern *A* head of Herakles and club; *B* head of woman. Below, chain of lotus buds. In relief at the base of each handle a bearded head.  
 (16) Oxford 1914.7. Pl. 70, fig. 22; 71, fig. 32. Between vertical bands of chain pattern *A* woman's head; *B* palmette with side tendrils. Below, bars.

#### PLATES OR DISHES

with kylix handles concealed beneath a plaque.<sup>5</sup>

- (17) Athens, Nat. Mus. 1410. Pl. 69, fig. 14. Inside: woman's head.  
 (18) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12609 Nicole 956. Pl. 69, fig. 15. Inside: woman's head. Outside unpainted.  
 (19) Paris, Louvre CA 580. Pl. 70, fig. 23. Inside: woman's head. Outside black with a reserved band.

#### KYLIX

- (20) Mannheim, Städtische Museen, Sammlungen des Schlossmuseums. Pl. 68, fig. 12; 72, fig. 34; Hofmann *Gr. Vasen in Mannheim* (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Grossherzogl. Realgymnasiums in Mannheim 1908-9) pl. I 2. Inside: R.F. woman's head. Outside: B.F. palmettes and lotuses.

#### LEKANE

- (21) Bonn 1766. *AA* 1933 37 figs. 37, 38. Inside: R.F. woman's head. Outside: B.F. ivy wreath; beneath handles an ivy leaf on a long stem. The bowl, which is very shallow, has a depression in the centre.

#### LEBETES

- (22) Copenhagen Mus. Nat. 4708. Pl. 68, fig. 11; *CV* fasc. iv pl. 175.5 a,b. Body: B.F. frieze of animals (panthers, lions, bull) with incisions. Lid: R.F. woman's head.

- (23) Thebes. *AJA* 53 (1949) pl. XXXV B,C. Body: B.F. frieze of animals (goats, bull, lion, dog, lioness) without incision. Lid: R.F. woman's head.

Probably the earliest of the series is the lidded bell krater in New York (1), pl. 66, figs. 1-3. The head on the lid faces right, contrary to the prevailing practice, and it appears to be wearing a snood rather than a kerchief. The features have a soft outline, the eye is dreamy, with an eyebrow that curves downward towards the nose so that it almost meets the upper lid; the nostril is rendered by a single dot. The nose and eye of the woman at the laver on the front of the vase are lost, but the features that remain are similar to those on the lid. In place of the snood there is a scarf tied round the head which does not cover the hair at the back.

The same face and a similar spotted snood are seen on the well-known krater in Athens with Danae and the shower of gold,<sup>6</sup> which has on the back Eros riding on a she-goat (pl. 66, fig. 4). The two vases are from the same hand. Near to these, but apparently not by the same painter, is the pyxis in Würzburg with Scylla and sea-monsters in R.F.; below them a frieze of dolphins in B.F.<sup>7</sup>

The subject on the front of the New York krater appears again on a bell krater in the Louvre (pl. 67, figs. 5, 6)<sup>8</sup> by another painter. Here the woman lifts her cupped hands well above the laver. On the New York vase she has slipped her arm out of her sleeve, and both arms and hands are within the bowl, apparently immersed in the water. On both vases the woman is gazing intently into the bowl. It is uncertain whether she is performing her ablutions or indulging in some form of hydromancy. On the back of the Louvre krater, corresponding to the hippocamp of the New York vase, is Scylla, brandishing a broken oar.<sup>9</sup> By the same

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wolters-Bruns *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (Berlin 1940) pl. 20.8.

<sup>6</sup> Inv. 12593. Lullies pl. 23.1.

<sup>7</sup> No. 821 Langlotz pl. 238.

<sup>8</sup> CA 1341. Ht. .22 m. The handle over the tail of Scylla is modern.

<sup>9</sup> For the pattern below the figures it is interesting to compare the Lucanian vase with a male head in Cracow *CV* Poland fasc. ii Mus. Czartoryski pl. 19.2.

hand<sup>10</sup> is a krater in Leningrad (Lullies pl. 23.2), which shows a woman sitting on the ground mourning before the armour of her man lost in war.

Just as there are two slightly varying laver scenes, so there is also another version of the Danae story. The Louvre possesses a bell krater with the familiar scene (pl. 67, figs. 7, 8; 71, fig. 24),<sup>11</sup> very similar in composition to that on the Athens krater, but different in feeling. On the Athens vase Danae is a queenly figure, adorned with jewels, receiving with poise and dignity the manifestation of the love of Zeus. The Louvre krater, though plainly deriving from the same source, shows an untidy, rather pert young woman with something of the air of a maid impersonating her mistress. She is however unmistakably inscribed DANAA. On the back of the vase a sturdy Siren plays the flute. From the same hand as the Louvre Danae is the New York krater with head and palmette (4).

There can be little doubt that the seven vases just mentioned are from the hands of a group of three or four painters working not entirely independently of one another.<sup>12</sup>

The head on the lid of the krater in Bowdoin College (pl. 68, fig. 9) is very different from that of the New York vase with the laver. The jagged outline of the headdress suggests the swathing of a scarf or kerchief rather than a snood. The mass of hair over the brow broadens considerably as it approaches the ear (here covered by the knob). These two features will be found to be characteristic of the very uniform series of heads so much favoured in the years following. Further, the eyebrow runs more or less parallel to the upper lid, the fold of which is rendered in thinned glaze. The cavity of the nostril is here indicated by a short black curve with a larger curve of thinned glaze for the *ala nasi*. This same face simplified (no eyelashes, no fold to the lid, no indication of the *ala*) is seen on the front of the vase, where a head with short tousled hair is outlined against the neck of a horse. On the back there is a palmette of a shape which will be discussed later, with one side tendril. Near to the Bowdoin College vase is the lidded krater in Munich (3). The Munich krater, as Lullies observed,<sup>13</sup> belongs to a series of small kraters, mainly lidless, with heads on the front and palmettes on the back. These

have been arranged in the list above in roughly chronological order. Though the scheme of the decoration is monotonously simple, there is a great deal of variety in the drawing of both heads and palmettes, and a considerable number of different hands appear to have been employed on them.

The kraters fall into two groups, an earlier, to which nos. 2-5 belong, in which the ladies sometimes wear jewelry; palmettes, flanked with side tendrils, often appear under the handles, the handles do not twist, and there is much variety in the shape and painting of the foot; and a second, which comprises those from 8 onwards, where the heads are simpler, there are stemless ivy leaves under the handles, flanking tendrils have disappeared, the handles have a sharp twist, the rim has developed into the shape seen on pl. 70, figs. 18-21, and the foot is uniform. Nos. 6 and 7 represent the transitional stage between these groups. No. 1, as has already been shown, stands somewhat apart.

Contemporary with the earlier kraters are the handled plates 17 and 18, on which the faces have an individual character and the caps or kerchiefs are elaborately ornamented. So also the lebes in Copenhagen, on the lid of which is a richly dressed lady (pl. 68, fig. 11), as unlike the common later type seen on the lid in Thebes published by Professor Johnson as the powerful animals on the body of the vase are unlike the starved creatures of the Theban lebes. The ornate headdress and the curls falling low on the cheek place this head in a class by itself, probably very near the beginning of the series.

All the bell kraters of this series with heads on the front have on the back a palmette, and those numbered 3-5 have palmettes under the handles also. That on the back of the Munich krater, figured by Lullies on his plate 25, is of the familiar kind seen, for example, on the Louvre Danae vase (pl. 71, fig. 24), though

<sup>10</sup> Judging only from the photograph of one side of the vase published by Lullies.

<sup>11</sup> CA 925. Ht. .23 m.

<sup>12</sup> Beazley has already pointed out the connection of the Würzburg Scylla with the woman at a laver in New York *JHS* 63 (1943) 68, and also with the calyx krater in Würzburg (our no. 15) and with the Louvre Danae, *op. cit.* 54 (1934) 92. Lullies *AM* 65 20 connects it with the Athens Danae.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* 21.

owing to the cramped space it is taller and narrower. The heart is formed of a shallow curve from which the leaves spring, and so also is that of the palmette under the handle. The krater in Bowdoin College shows a totally different kind of palmette. The heart here is angular and the central leaf cuts right through it (pl. 71, fig. 25). This rather unattractive type of palmette is normal on all the kraters decorated only with heads, the Munich krater being an exception. We may perhaps see the beginning of it on the Athens Danae krater, which has under the handle a palmette with an angular heart, though in this case not penetrated by the central leaf. The painter of the head krater in New York (4) seems to have been unfamiliar with this kind of palmette. For that on the back of the vase (pl. 71, fig. 26) he started with an angular heart unpierced, then emended it by continuing downwards one side only of his central leaf. His handle palmettes are of the complete Bowdoin type with a pair of side tendrils, and, as on the Bowdoin krater, that on the back has a tendril on one side only.<sup>14</sup> The painter of the Bonn krater has put a singularly clumsy palmette of Bowdoin shape with side tendrils under the handles (pl. 71, fig. 27), but all the later kraters have a stemless ivy leaf in this position and a Bowdoin palmette, nearly always without side tendrils, on the back. The stemless ivy leaf makes its first appearance on the krater in the Louvre with the woman at a laver, on the side not occupied by the tail of Scylla, but there it is provided with a central vein which the painters of the later standardised kraters did not trouble to put in. The Bowdoin College vase is unique in having a vine leaf in this position.

This curious Bowdoin type of palmette, impaled on a post driven through its heart, seems to have been invented solely for the purpose of accompanying female heads, for it does not to my knowledge occur elsewhere on Red Figure. It was however copied or adapted on a few B.F. vases:

(a) Lidless pyxis or bowl, Würzburg 656, pl. 72, fig. 35, Langlotz pl. 220. Birds and palmettes.

(b) Kylix, Leningrad, Hermitage. Pl. 72, figs. 37, 38. Birds and palmettes. Beneath one handle a stemless ivy leaf.<sup>15</sup>

(c) Stamnos-pyxis, Reading University 26.iv.4. Pl. 72, fig. 36. Lotus between palmettes. Between warts and handles, each side an ivy leaf, in three cases stemmed, in one stemless.

(d) Lebes, Chicago University. AJA 53 pl. XXXIV, XXXV A. Birds and palmettes.

It will be seen that the Chicago lebes only just qualifies for admission, for the palmette is quite differently shaped. It is however hard to explain the leaf or line between the spirals on AJA 53 pl. XXXIV as anything but an echo of the long central leaf, reaching to the ground, of the Bowdoin palmette. The Leningrad kylix is already halfway towards it, for in the palmette pl. 72, fig. 37 the prolongation of the central leaf is added after the painting of the rest of the leaves.

The above group of vases is not the only B.F. to be considered in relation to these R.F. heads. The exterior of the large bilingual kylix in Mannheim has palmettes, each with an inverted lotus hanging from a tendril on the right side only (pl. 72, fig. 34). This is the same design as the ornament between the birds on the Würzburg bowl 656, but neither palmette nor lotus match those in Würzburg. The palmette is the B.F. equivalent of that on the Louvre Danae krater (pl. 71, fig. 24) with a flattish curve, unpierced, for the heart. The lotus with three curling petals is that characteristic of the Branteghem shop, found on pyxides in Reading, Nauplia, and Munich (*BSA* 41 pl. 6.1,2 and here pl. 72, fig. 33). It has already been pointed out (p. 245) that the lebetes in Copenhagen and Thebes have lids with the pagoda knob of the Branteghem pyxides. Their animals also are in the Branteghem tradition (compare the Theban lebes AJA 53 pl. XXXV C with Athens 12693, Nicole 955, Wolters-Bruns *Kabirenheiligtum* pl. 26.7); the wings of the Chicago birds recall the wings of the Nikes on the Branteghem pyxis itself (Pfuhl *MuZ* fig. 617); the chain pattern of the Oxford calyx krater and the Munich bell krater is found on the Branteghem askos Athens

<sup>14</sup> On the Munich krater the head is accompanied by a tendril on the left.

<sup>15</sup> From the collection of the former Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, no. 793. The late Prof. Waldhauer sent me the photographs reproduced in pl. 72, figs. 37, 38 in 1930 with an invitation to publish them.



12689, Nicole 959, Wolters-Bruns pl. 26.4. All this would seem to suggest that at least some of our vases with heads issued from the Branteghem shop, and that the range of its products was wider than has hitherto been recognised. The Mannheim kylix, with its fairly early head together with a rather degenerate Branteghem lotus and a palmette which is not yet Bowdoin, provides an equation. We may infer that this workshop, which around 430 B.C. was producing vases that may be regarded as the acme of the floral style in Boeotia (pl. 72, fig. 33, *BSA* 41 pl. 6 and 7.4, *AM* 65 pl. 8, lid), dropped in the course of perhaps a couple of decades to the level exemplified by the Mannheim kylix. There the drawing of the palmette leaves remains much as before, but the heart has changed. In the early fourth century the B.F. painters in the shop took over the palmette which had been introduced earlier on the R.F. vases with heads, invented possibly by the painter of the Bowdoin College krater. The earliest vase with this palmette in B.F. seems to be that in Würzburg, which follows the Mannheim pattern, but with a hanging lotus of another shape. That both palmette and lotus are now drawn in a manner quite different from that of the original Branteghem vases is hardly surprising, since by this time most of the old hands must have passed away.

Whether the group of early kraters with which we began issued from the Branteghem shop in its earlier days can at present be only a matter of conjecture. Another member of this group is a fragmentary krater in Munich<sup>16</sup> with a woman (feet and legs only preserved) riding to left on a she-goat; on the back a palmette of Louvre Danae shape. The vase bears a resemblance to the Scylla pyxis in Würzburg, though it is coarser, while in its small size and the stemless ivy leaf under the handle it corresponds to our later group of small kraters with heads and Bowdoin pal-

mettes. It may be that we are dealing with the products of two different shops, but it seems more likely that it is a case of two or more streams within the same workshop, parallel to and influencing one another. We have seen how the painter of the Louvre Danae, when painting his head krater in New York (4), took over, somewhat hesitantly, the strange palmette favoured by the painter of the Bowdoin krater, and how the two calyx kraters, one of which has the Bowdoin palmette, use the border patterns of the earlier Munich krater, which has the more normal palmette of the Louvre Danae.

Heads of men rarely occur as counterparts to those of their much more popular sisters. The calyx krater in Würzburg has one of each, and a helmeted head of a youth appears on a handled dish in Athens<sup>17</sup> (pl. 69, fig. 16).

Though the place of finding of the vases with women's heads is known in only a few cases,<sup>18</sup> their place of origin is almost unquestionably Thebes, for there is nothing to connect them with any other region of Boeotia. They form a not insignificant proportion of the Boeotian R.F. vases known to us.<sup>19</sup> In Athens on the other hand vases decorated with large scale heads were never popular. For a comparable vogue — and one which eventually became an obsession — we have to turn to Southern Italy.

UNIVERSITY OF READING, ENGLAND

<sup>16</sup> Inv. 3062.

<sup>17</sup> Inv. 1411.

<sup>18</sup> Thebes is given as the place of finding of 3, 16, 19 and the B.F. bowl in Würzburg. Those in Thebes Museum (12, 13, 23) are almost certainly from the locality. The Chicago lebes is said to have come from the Theban Kabeirion. Mr. Roe tells me that "Locride" is written on a label attached to 2.

<sup>19</sup> Not included in this survey are the fragmentary pyxis from the Kabeirion, Wolters-Bruns pl. 41.7, a bilingual pyxis and a bell krater in a private collection in Greece, and a bell krater in Cambridge, which I propose to discuss separately.





## HERAKLES AND OMPHALE

ELMER G. SUHR

PLATES 73-74

THE legend of Herakles and Omphale, tracing its origin back to the conflict between Hellenic and pre-Hellenic religions, experienced a number of transformations throughout Greek and Roman times as well as later history, changes which reflect the prevailing political movements and the attitude toward woman. The lack of representations in the archaic period is not surprising, but its absence on vases and in the plastic arts of the fifth century is very significant. Except for its appearance in literature, especially in comedies, it was completely ignored until Hellenistic and Roman times when it degenerated into a romantic burlesque. Pfuhl<sup>1</sup> implies that prior to the Roman period when the painter represented Herakles as a clumsy, helpless sot, the hero was regarded as too much of a tragic figure to be used as the subject of ridicule in art. Certainly his legendary connection with Omphale was current in Attica long before Hellenistic times,<sup>2</sup> as the comic poets amply testify.<sup>3</sup> In fifth century Athens there was no exclusively tragic character, least of all Herakles, who could not be moulded by the dramatist to play another type

of role,<sup>4</sup> although, in general, heroes fitted much more appropriately into tragedy than divinities. In general, Pfuhl's statement is correct as far as Attica is concerned, and the exception in literature, as we shall see, has a very good reason. The non-Attic sculptor before Alexander the Great has given us little of the comic in the career of Herakles, unless we stretch the point by citing the experience of Herakles with the Kerkopes.<sup>5</sup> Likewise the vase painter, except for a caricature,<sup>6</sup> has treated his labors and sufferings in a serious vein;<sup>7</sup> we must, of course, admit that the Caeretan hydria, which portrays Herakles raising havoc with Busiris and his attendants, is an outstanding example, from our viewpoint, of a humorous treatment,<sup>8</sup> but in Attica the vase painter seems to have held himself aloof from such an interpretation.<sup>9</sup> We must be careful, however, to guard against the conclusion that, because of these facts, the Greeks were exclusively interested in Herakles as a hero, for that aspect underlying a comic interpretation of his character, even if submerged, was not unknown.

Whatever may have been the reason in the

<sup>1</sup> *Malerei und Zeich. d. Gr.* II 905.

<sup>2</sup> F. Cauer, *RhM* (1891) pp. 244 ff. corrects Wilamowitz, *Herakles* (Berlin 1889) Vol. I, pp. 313-14, on this point.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Pericles* 24, mentions Kratinos and Eupolis.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. V. Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World* (New York 1946) p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> A. de Ridder, *RA* XXVI (1900) pp. 99-114 has identified two figures of a bronze relief as Herakles and Omphale, but actually there is nothing to distinguish the female as the Lydian queen.

<sup>6</sup> Pfuhl, *op. cit.* II, 627.

<sup>7</sup> Pfuhl, *op. cit.* I, 339, has corrected an erroneous identification of Omphale by C. Robert (*Heldensage*, 593,4).

<sup>8</sup> E. Buschor, *Gr. Vase Painting* (New York 1921) p. 89, calls the two scenes of this vase "cabinet pictures of vigorous humour."

<sup>9</sup> D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos* V, pp. 69-70, pl. 46, has published vase fragments which portray this subject but, because of the ornament, he is not sure they are Attic in origin.

mind of the Attic vase painter for avoiding the comic possibilities in Herakles' career, we can understand why he shunned his connection with Omphale. That such a hero, who was celebrated for his deeds of valor, should be portrayed as playing the role of a hireling to an Oriental woman was repugnant and distasteful to the Greek of the mainland where the position of the woman in the family was so different.<sup>10</sup> Why, then, did the comic poets of Athens turn to this theme for subject matter? Because it afforded excellent material for a satire on Aspasia's position in the household of Pericles which had achieved considerable notoriety during the Samian war, if we may trust Plutarch<sup>11</sup> who claims the Milesian woman was responsible for the conflict. All this furnished the comic poet with a striking analogy appropriate to the offense committed by the political leader of Athens and makes the exception in Attica which strengthens our rule. One might ask why the Amazon, who supposedly subjected the male to humiliating degradation and whose original home was in the East, was not also banned from the plastic arts of the fifth century. In this case, however, the female played a secondary role in both literature and art in favor of a conquering Herakles or Theseus, and so the disgrace attaching to their family relationships is never obvious; moreover, there was enough of the heroic and tragic in this warring female to make her a worthy opponent on the field of battle, an element altogether missing in the spinning Herakles at the Lydian court. In Graeco-Roman times, when the social status of woman had changed, the spectacle of Herakles, reduced to the level of a weakling in the power of a woman, was a standing favorite.

No full account of the story is recorded in extant literature until the time of Apollodorus<sup>12</sup> and Diodorus,<sup>13</sup> the former giving us the older version; furthermore, there is no allu-

sion to it before the time of Croesus. Aeschylus<sup>14</sup> mentions that Herakles consented to be sold into the service of the Lydian queen, and Sophocles,<sup>15</sup> referring to his stay in Lydia, limits the period to a year; otherwise his account agrees in general with that of Apollodorus. Let us follow the account of the latter: just prior to the murder of Iphitus, it should be noted, Herakles had returned from the palace of Admetus, whose queen he had restored from Hades. Although he was purified at Amyclae, he found himself burdened with a disease which occasioned the journey to Delphi. There followed the struggle with Apollo over the tripod, the hurled thunderbolt of Zeus, and an oracle ordering him to be sold and to serve in Lydia for three years, the compensation to be paid to Eurytus. Hermes then sold Herakles to the queen of Lydia, but Eurytus refused the compensation. While at the court of Omphale he subdued the Kerkopes and Syleus, buried the body of Icarus, and took part both in the voyage of the Argonauts and the Calydonian boar hunt. Without any reference to a marriage with Omphale he left Lydia, at the end of his servitude, for an attack on Ilium. Diodorus differs from this account in the following details: the purchase price was paid to the sons of Eurytus; in addition to overcoming the Kerkopes and Syleus, he destroyed the city of the Itoni; Herakles married Omphale by whom he had a son Lamus, after having had a son by a slave of the queen; he returned to the Peloponnese whence he made war on Ilium; nothing is said about the struggle with Apollo over the tripod. Lucian<sup>16</sup> and Tertullian<sup>17</sup> emphasize the degradation of Herakles in the queen's service; Ovid<sup>18</sup> and Seneca<sup>19</sup> definitely refer to spinning as his occupation at the court. Other references<sup>20</sup> have no direct bearing on the content of the legend.

I make no pretense of being able to resolve the puzzling maze of religion, literary composi-

<sup>10</sup> To Sophocles, *Trach.* 69 ff., it was shameful for Herakles to serve this woman.

<sup>11</sup> *Per.* 24-5. The social implications, as we shall see, are only one reason for avoiding the comic Herakles in Attic vase painting.

<sup>12</sup> II, 6, 3.

<sup>13</sup> IV, 31.

<sup>14</sup> *Agamemnon* 1024-5.

<sup>15</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> *Dial. deor.* XIII, 2 and *de hist. scr.* 10.

<sup>17</sup> *De Pallio* 4.

<sup>18</sup> *Her.* IX 57 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Hippolytus* 317 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Ephor. *FHG* I, 235, 9; Ovid, *Fasti* II, 311 ff.; Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 45; Propertius III, 11, 17.

tion, and mythical tradition lying back of the figure of Herakles as we know him, but some appreciation of the problem is necessary to throw light on his adventure with Omphale in Lydia. Wilamowitz<sup>21</sup> made of Herakles a great hero comparable to Faust, constantly struggling against the greatest of odds.<sup>22</sup> His chief contribution lies in tracing the Herakles-Omphale episode to the Greek mainland.<sup>23</sup> Cauer<sup>24</sup> defends the Lydian origin of the myth, while K. Truempel<sup>25</sup> supports Wilamowitz.<sup>26</sup> Such a theory introduces the Lydian rulers as an important factor in the later development of the myth. Friedlaender<sup>27</sup> is especially concerned about removing Herakles from the Dorian tradition and making Rhodes the center of his mythological dissemination; he also credits Kreophylos of Samos with the form of the Omphale episode as we know it.<sup>28</sup> His whole treatment suffers from an overemphasis on the literary development of the subject which is, in a sense, made up of conscious afterthoughts on a theme first moulded by religion. B. Schweitzer<sup>29</sup> has composed an elaborate and highly suggestive theory relating the exploits of Herakles to those of heroes in Indian and Germanic lore, a courageous attempt to arrive at the original core of labors; it suffers, however, from too much dependence on a vase fragment.<sup>30</sup> Mention should also be made of a proposed solution to the family relationships, human and divine, by A. B. Cook.<sup>31</sup> Here the hero becomes a convenient tool for a readjustment of

family relationships when the religion of the Greek peninsula passed from matriarchy to the rule of the Olympian family headed by father Zeus: to effect a fair compromise Zeus gave up his wife Dione, the later Hebe, in favor of Hera, a former divinity of the earth, while Hebe is subsequently handed over to Herakles.<sup>32</sup> Such an arrangement implies that it was as easy for Zeus and Herakles to cross the gap between two religions as for Hortensius to borrow the wife of Cato and, what is still more important, it takes for granted that the same family organization held good for matriarchy as for the Olympic pantheon. It fails to explain why Hera's wrath is a serious obstacle to Herakles on certain occasions and is conspicuously absent on others;<sup>33</sup> it fails to explain how the dauntless hero, who on the one hand served as a model of courage for the Greeks was transformed, on the other hand, into a weak, gluttonous, promiscuous Herakles who dons a veil and gives over his club and lion-skin to a queen; it confuses the divine and human birth of Herakles as well as the worship accorded to him, now as a god and again as a hero. What evidence can be found for a husband-wife connection between Hera and Herakles before the coming of Zeus? The fact that Herakles is evidently defending her in the gigantomachy throws no definite light either on their early association or their eventual reconciliation. We must admit Cook is on the right road, but this theory, as it stands, has only tended to increase the confusion surround-

<sup>21</sup> *Herakles* (Berlin 1889) Vol. I, p. 286.

<sup>22</sup> Most scholars now agree with Nilsson who places the hero and most of his labors in Mycenaean times; cf. his *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Cambridge 1932) p. 217 *et seq.* Nilsson advocates the theory that the Mycenaeans were immigrant Greeks who inherited the cultural advances of Minoan civilization. P. Friedlaender, *Herakles* (Berlin 1907) p. 139, also mentions that there are few cults of Herakles in Sparta. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Immortality* (Oxford 1921) pp. 106 ff., definitely wrested Herakles from the Dorians.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 315 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *RhM*, XLVI (1891) p. 244 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Philologus* I (1891) pp. 611 ff.

<sup>26</sup> No worthy substitute for the latter's theory has been offered.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 57.

<sup>28</sup> P. 68. It is difficult to understand how so many mainland traditions can be so easily uprooted and transferred; especially is this true of the struggle between Herakles and Apollo for the Delphic tripod.

<sup>29</sup> *Herakles* (Tuebingen 1922).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Nilsson's review in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1922) pp. 834-5.

<sup>31</sup> *CR* XX (1906) pp. 365 ff.; also Jane Harrison: *Themis* (Cambridge 1912) p. 364 and her *Prolegomena* (Cambridge 1903) p. 317; also *CR* VII (1893) pp. 74 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-1, calls this theory a "quaint and desperate hypothesis" which fails to account for many influences brought to bear on the career of Herakles.

<sup>33</sup> If, as Cook states, *loc. cit.*, Herakles had been the hen-pecked husband of Hera, why does the latter choose to persecute him only on certain occasions?

ing the more knotty phases of the problem; Herakles the hero must also be reckoned with to reach a satisfactory solution.

Although Herakles has always been classed among the heroes of mythology, he occupies such a unique position in this classification that the ancients sometimes referred to him as a god, sometimes as a hero. Farnell<sup>34</sup> believes he was first worshipped as a man, then later as a god.<sup>35</sup> Pausanias<sup>36</sup> tells us a Cretan named Phaistos first persuaded the men of Sicyon to worship Herakles as a god. Whatever the people of any locality may have thought of his original identity, in whatever capacity he was worshipped, it appears that the ancient world had settled on no common denominator for his true status. The divine and heroic elements (the strictly human element was negligible) in his make-up were so confused that a tragic writer like Euripides had his difficulties when trying to mould Herakles into a tragic character.<sup>37</sup> Though Sophocles, by avoiding his apotheosis, limited Herakles to the heroic level, he presents him as anything but a noble and tragic character.<sup>38</sup> Beloch<sup>39</sup> and Meyer<sup>40</sup> call Herakles an old Boeotian god; Wilamowitz<sup>41</sup> believes neither his name nor the content of his legend have much to do with the original man whoever he may have been; Friedlaender<sup>42</sup> is certain he could not have been a god any more than Perseus and dismisses his divine associations as secondary. If Herakles was first and foremost a hero, why do we not hear of his grave in various localities? Friedlaender<sup>43</sup> avoids the issue by simply suggesting there may have been a grave of Herakles in Tiryns, but because the city faded in importance at an early date, people forgot about it. Harrison first says he

was of ancient Pelasgian stock,<sup>44</sup> then speaks of him as a demon of fertility<sup>45</sup> which seems to lend more support to the divinity than to the hero. Carl Robert<sup>46</sup> says he was reckoned as a divinity because he was present at the birth of Athena and was a prominent fighter with the gods against the giants. Schweitzer,<sup>47</sup> although he classifies him with Indra, Thor, Rama, Siegfried, and others, claims he *became* a man, once he lost all association with magic and the supernatural. Nilsson<sup>48</sup> attaches little significance to his origin, suggesting he may be a fictitious character; his divinity, he writes,<sup>49</sup> is perhaps post-Homeric. H. J. Rose<sup>50</sup> rejects his divinity because his name is compounded with that of Hera; hence he was probably a real man of Tiryns.

As varied and speculative as these opinions are, it is obvious that Herakles, as the Greeks knew him, possessed both divine and heroic elements in the pattern of his life, but certainly he had not always been such an unconvincing compound—such a hybrid could not be granted an indisputable position among the Olympians. Certainly he was not always a god and a hero at the same time, and Wilamowitz<sup>51</sup> is talking in riddles when he claims Herakles was a man who suffered like a man but was also a god. At some point in his history the hero paled before the godhead or the god lost his trophies to the hero, the latter carrying with him the trappings of divine majesty, and since the two elements cannot be reconciled in the same being, there must have been two Herakles in ancient religious tradition. In the light of so many conflicting opinions on the part of scholars and so much conflicting evidence in ancient times, the above conclusion is the most

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 98-99.

<sup>35</sup> At the same time (p. 95) he refers to him as the great hero of the Greeks.

<sup>36</sup> 2.10.1.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. V. Ehrenberg *op. cit.* pp. 146 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. C. H. Whitman: *Sophocles* (Cambridge 1951) p. 119; also W. N. Bates: *Sophocles, Poet and Dramatist* (Philadelphia 1940) p. 145.

<sup>39</sup> *RhM* XLV, pp. 579 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Gr. Gesch.* II, 166; also Kaibel in *Nach. d. Goett. Ges.* (1901) pp. 505 ff.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 285-6.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 163.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* p. 164, note 1.

<sup>44</sup> *Prolegomena* p. 347.

<sup>45</sup> *Themis* p. 365.

<sup>46</sup> *Griechische Heldensage* (Berlin 1921) II, p. 423.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 238-9.

<sup>48</sup> *The Mycen. Origin of Gr. Myth.* (Cambridge 1932) p. 192.

<sup>49</sup> P. 204.

<sup>50</sup> *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London 1928) p. 205.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 283. He is perhaps correct in assigning the divine Herakles to the Ionian, but what distinguishes the god from the hero and why was the divine Herakles more familiar to the eastern Greeks?



sensible we can advance. In the clash of two conflicting religious traditions in the early history of an invading people it seems unlikely that a hero would be raised to the level of a divinity; on the other hand, a deity might be submerged or suffer an eclipse to make room for a compromise, instances of which are well attested in early Greek religion.<sup>52</sup> Let us see how such a hypothesis can be supported by the available evidence.

Homer,<sup>53</sup> to be sure, does not pointedly distinguish between the hero and the god but calls the shade of the hero a phantom of the god, already wed to Hebe on Olympus; the real Herakles is divine. Earlier, in the *Iliad*,<sup>54</sup> Herakles is called the son of Alcmena, and once<sup>55</sup> he is even the son Amphitryon.<sup>56</sup> Hesiod<sup>57</sup> calls him the son of Zeus and Alcmena but wed to Hebe on Olympus where he lives unaging and without care. Herodotus<sup>58</sup> asserts that those Greeks do right who sacrifice to Herakles as an immortal and to Herakles as a dead hero; Diodorus, in one passage,<sup>59</sup> speaks of three versions of Herakles, one the Egyptian, the second a Cretan Dactyl, the third the son of Zeus and Alcmena; in another passage<sup>60</sup> he definitely says there are two Herakles, both fathered by Zeus, one of whom is the son of Alcmena.<sup>61</sup> Strabo<sup>62</sup> knows of a Herakles who was one of the Idaean Dactyls, not the son of Zeus and Alcmena, and Arrian<sup>63</sup> mentions three, the Theban, the Tyrian, and the Egyptian Herakles; Pausanias<sup>64</sup> also seems to be aware of more than one but writes of them confusedly. The Marathonians<sup>65</sup>

report they were the first to regard Herakles as a god. Whether Herakles the hero was prior to or later than Herakles the god<sup>66</sup> cannot be settled on the authority of classical writers who are none too certain of their claims nor can it be concluded, as we have already pointed out, that the god was a casual afterthought on the heels of heroic achievement. The two versions may just as well have developed contemporaneously in the early history of two different peoples, in other words, they represent two different beings under the same name, although one may very well have lost his name to the other to make a compromise more effective. Parke<sup>67</sup> thinks that Herakles, originally a god worshipped by the Boeotians, set out to rival Apollo and thus brought about a dispute over the tripod. Why not just as well call Apollo the invader who had trouble in usurping the rights of Ge and Herakles? Throughout the passages of ancient literature, along with the doubts in the minds of the writers, there lurks a suspicion, if not a question, about the unity of the traditional Herakles.<sup>68</sup>

There are three distinctive features about the career of Herakles which separate him from the classification of Greek heroes: first, he contends on an equal level with divinity without suffering the consequences which befall a normal hero; secondly, after committing an outrageous crime sufficient to condemn a hero to a disastrous end, he seeks and obtains absolution by performing labors, even a menial task; heroes are not forgiven as easily as gods,

<sup>52</sup> E.g. Apollo and Hyakinthos. See A. W. Persson, *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1942) p. 137; M. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (London 1927) p. 485. The latter implies the possibility of such a degradation of Herakles (517).

<sup>53</sup> *Odys.* XI, 601.

<sup>54</sup> *XIV*, 323; *XIX*, 99.

<sup>55</sup> *V*, 392.

<sup>56</sup> Nilsson, *Mycen. Or. of Gr. Myth.* p. 201, adds that Homer also echoes the lawless Herakles before moral restraint was laid upon him. In the light of Homer's statement in the *Odyssey*, however, it is hard to understand why Nilsson calls the divinity of Herakles post-Homeric.

<sup>57</sup> *Theog.* 919-55.

<sup>58</sup> *II*, 44.

<sup>59</sup> *III*, 73.

<sup>60</sup> *V*, 76.

<sup>61</sup> This one emulated the deeds of the other and thus, in the end, both achieved immortality.

<sup>62</sup> *8*, 3, 30.

<sup>63</sup> *Anab.* II, 16.

<sup>64</sup> *10*, 13, 8.

<sup>65</sup> *Paus.* I, 15, 3 and I, 32, 4.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Farnell, *Gr. Hero Cults* p. 98. The ancient writers evidently were confused about the origin of Herakles, but the mention of so many foreign versions points to an awareness of the foreign divine element in his make-up.

<sup>67</sup> *A History of the Delphic Oracle* (Oxford 1939) p. 349.

<sup>68</sup> The references to foreign versions of Herakles may be regarded as products of the impact of eastern religions on the Greek newcomers.

nor do heroes such as Jason and Perseus undertake labors in recompense for an act of disgrace. Thirdly, he joins the circle of the Olympians after his sojourn on earth. Lord Raglan<sup>69</sup> compares Herakles with the heroes of other lands, with whom he has much in common, but he glosses over his divinity which raises him above a Siegfried and beyond an Ajax, a Perseus, or a Jason. His divinity, too, prevents him from becoming a suitable subject for tragedy and grants him the privilege, along with Dionysus, of mounting the comic stage. Although one can sympathize when he suffers, one still feels that on numerous occasions he, like Zeus, gets away free, while a number of innocents must pay for his crimes. A hero, despite his ambitions and desires which frequently go beyond their bounds, is still subject to mortal limitations and so commands human respect when he falls; a god, if he comes too near man's level, can reap the ridicule of man because he takes unlimited privileges without accepting the responsibilities ensuing from his actions. Can we distinguish between Herakles the hero and Herakles the god on these terms? In both aspects he appears with the same attributes, the same weapons, which forces us to base our conclusions on his actions or the company he keeps.<sup>70</sup>

Herakles fought with Ares, Hades,<sup>71</sup> and Apollo, struggles which single him out as a divinity opposing divinity. It may be asserted by way of objection that Diomedes wounded Aphrodite and opposed Ares successfully on the Trojan plain. Here, however, the situation is much different: it is Athena who urges Diomedes to attack Aphrodite<sup>72</sup> and who rides along in the chariot against Ares,<sup>73</sup> all of which makes

them duels between divinities while Diomedes serves only as a disguise or a means to an end. If we look at the sculptured pediments in Delphi,<sup>74</sup> we find Athena standing in the center, between the antagonists, holding each one by the wrist; here she is decidedly a restraining influence which Herakles, in his impatience, is loath to obey. As a god he has entered into this struggle on his own, and, with a firm hold on his tripod, he seems to have the best of the duel. The same impression is given by the vase painter;<sup>75</sup> one example<sup>76</sup> presents him alone with his prize as if exulting over his victory.<sup>77</sup> What significance can we attach to this conflict which called forth the intervention of Zeus himself?<sup>78</sup> Regardless of its historical associations a conflict between two such prominent figures must also reflect a violent religious struggle, one which can only be explained by the invasion of a new god into the province of an old established divinity. Why should Apollo, who was capable of conquering an old god and of burying him beneath his sanctuary at Amyclae,<sup>79</sup> have any trouble coping with Herakles, if he was no more than a hero? This legend, which is an old one in art, was no doubt seized upon by Kreophylos of Samos and used to advantage as a prelude to the Omphale episode; both legends reflect events in the career of Herakles the god. I can only regard the thesis of Farnell as inconsistent when he<sup>80</sup> realizes how exceptionally Herakles stands out in the rank of heroes but goes on to regard his pre-eminent traits, including his deification, as late accretions; moreover, he has not included (pp. 98-9) all the statements of Arrian and Diodorus, two of the ancient authors who, he asserts, were "unanimous" in claiming Herakles was first a

<sup>69</sup> *The Hero* (London 1936) pp. 178 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Perhaps this is what Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (London 1890) p. 137, means when she says: "It is remarkable that Herakles on Athenian vase-painting—e.g. at the birth of Athena—appears among the Olympian gods; elsewhere he is a mere hero."

<sup>71</sup> Nilsson, *The Mycen. Origin of Gr. Myth.* pp. 203-4, has an interesting theory about this encounter, but why should he be so certain that Homer thought of Herakles only as a mortal?

<sup>72</sup> *Iliad* V, 133.

<sup>73</sup> *Iliad* V, 856 ff.

<sup>74</sup> F. Poulsen, *Delphi* (London 1920) pp. 109-10.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. J. G. Frazer on Paus. 10, 13, 8; also FR: pl. 91 and 133-4.

<sup>76</sup> Pfuhl, *op. cit.* III, pl. 167.

<sup>77</sup> Other examples giving Herakles the same advantage in the struggle are presented by S. Reinach, *Repertoires des Reliefs* (Paris 1912) II, p. 60, 2 and III, p. 131, 5; also G. Richter: *GBA* (1950) pp. 54-5, fig. 28.

<sup>78</sup> The historical interpretation of Wilamowitz, p. 265, note 9, now that Herakles can no longer be accounted a Dorian hero, is worthless. See also Friedlaender p. 155.

<sup>79</sup> A. W. Persson, *op. cit.* p. 137.

<sup>80</sup> *Gr. Hero Cults*, pp. 95 ff.



hero, later a god. The struggles with Ares and Hades are likewise beyond the capacities of the Greek hero.

Heroes like Ajax must pay the full measure of punishment when they offend one of the Olympians, but gods are treated much more leniently; they are lowered in dignity by being forced to serve man in a servile capacity — for a limited period. After killing the Cyclops, Apollo had to submit to service under Admetus;<sup>81</sup> Zeus first thought of hurling him down into Tartarus, but his mother Latona interceded for him, whereupon he was sent to serve as a shepherd for one year. After the revolutionary behavior of Poseidon and Apollo toward Zeus, the two divinities were ordered to build the walls of Troy for Laomedon.<sup>82</sup> On two occasions Herakles committed a flagrant crime which called for strong retribution: first, after the murder of his children, and later, following the wanton murder of Iphitus. The first crime, because the deed was inspired by Hera and because the punishment raised rather than lowered his prestige in the estimation of men, belongs more to the heroic Herakles, but the latter incident, which I have reason to believe is much earlier in his career as we know it, brought him to the court of Omphale and eventually, because of a misinterpretation, made him the laughing stock of the Greek world. The burning of Herakles on the pyre, while it was borrowed from a custom of the East,<sup>83</sup> is a factor which sets him apart from the classification of heroes. It is the one post-Homeric episode in his career which may have been added by Pherekydes<sup>84</sup> or Kreophylos of Samos.<sup>85</sup> We know that a number of divinities, e.g. in Tyre, in Cilicia, and in Lydia were burned<sup>86</sup> in effigy or by human substitutes, and we must remember they were divinities, not heroes. Regardless of

whether the Eastern divinities were assimilated with Herakles through the agency of sailors and traders from the Orient or by Greek colonists in the East,<sup>87</sup> we observe that the god Zeus, as well as Herakles, was compromised in such borderline worship at various points in the Mediterranean area, but heroes, as heroes, received no such consideration; Perseus also enjoyed connections with the East without being elevated to the level of divinity. Because of the original association of the god Herakles with the Earth Mother he had a stronger bond with the East than a heroic Herakles, famed for his wanderings, his exploits characteristic of so many heroes. This divine Herakles was also made the ancestor of the Lydian kings, a fact which explains why Croesus was reputed to have been burned on a pyre.<sup>88</sup>

This is no attempt, as we have already said, to unravel the maze of Herakles' career or to analyze all the episodes of his mythology; a distinction, however, between the hero and the divinity avoids many of the contradictory phases of his history, e.g. the wrath of Hera which crops up very obviously at certain points only to turn about face at another point. Why should Zeus and Herakles be so closely attached to one another as a father who takes pride in his son's achievements and on another occasion threatens him with a thunderbolt while the latter is greedily devouring fruit?<sup>89</sup> Why does Hera persecute him already as a babe by dispatching serpents to strangle him and place all sorts of obstacles in his pathway as he carries out certain labors, then be only too glad of his protection in the battle against the giants?<sup>90</sup> Farnell<sup>91</sup> claims the very name of Heracles, "the glory of Hera," is enough to disparage the question of the hatred of the goddess, but this is merely an awkward way of evading the issue;

<sup>81</sup> Apollodorus III, 10, 4.

<sup>82</sup> *Iliad* I, 399 ff. and Schol. on *Iliad* XXI, 444; also Lucian, *de Sacrificiis* 4.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* p. 172.

<sup>84</sup> Wilamowitz pp. 323-4.

<sup>85</sup> Friedlaender p. 76.

<sup>86</sup> J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat* (London 1925) p. 408 carries such a practice back to the burning of ancient divinities or divine kings to send winter on its way and to usher in spring.

<sup>87</sup> For the identification of Herakles with the Cilician Sandos see A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge 1914) I, pp. 597 ff.

<sup>88</sup> The earliest version of this story is furnished by Bacchylides III, 23 ff. The vase painter (FR: pl. 113) has portrayed Croesus emulating his great ancestor Herakles by ascending the pyre.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Cook, *op. cit.* I, p. 521, note 2.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Cook II p. 778, fig. 741; also Pfuhl III pl. 144 where Herakles shields her from the advances of satyrs.

<sup>91</sup> *Greek Hero Cults* pp. 100-1.

the hatred of Hera is as genuine in this legend as the name of Herakles, genuine enough to make the relationship between the two paradoxical unless we distinguish between the hero and the god. Wilamowitz<sup>92</sup> explains her hatred as the natural effect of the Dorian invasion; the invading worshippers of Herakles aroused the resentment of the native devotees of Hera;<sup>93</sup> but now we know that Herakles was not a Dorian hero. The enmity of the goddess cannot be accounted for satisfactorily unless we make a distinction between the laboring hero and the god surviving from pre-Hellenic times. When Hera became the wife of Zeus and queen of Heaven as well as the goddess of marriage, she was regarded as the guardian of the Greek family, and any extra-marital relationship of Zeus with another woman, as was the case with any other such deviation of Zeus, naturally called forth her enmity.<sup>94</sup> She had no way of punishing her husband (except indirectly), but she did vent her feelings on Io, Semele, Danaë, and their offspring. Herakles the hero, driven mad and persecuted in so many of his undertakings, belongs in this category. On the other hand, Hera makes no objection to his struggle with Apollo over the tripod, in no way interferes with his conquest of death,<sup>95</sup> and allows him to defend her against the giants, all episodes involving a survival of the divine Herakles. To represent this Herakles as the henpecked husband of the old earth goddess<sup>96</sup> is a biased construction fostered by the Greek's preference for a divine family whose overlord was the father; this view also contributed much to the development of Herakles as a comic character.

The name of Herakles has also been a stumbling block to a classification of his dubious identity. There is little doubt that Hera and

Herakles were closely associated<sup>97</sup> and that his name is derived from that of the goddess, but why should one once known as the "glory of Hera" become her bitter enemy? On the island of St. Sebastian near Cadiz<sup>98</sup> and on the islands of Peragil and Paloma<sup>99</sup> Hera and Herakles were associated in cult.<sup>100</sup> Most authorities agree that the name of Herakles means "the glory of Hera" but hardly anyone is able to reconcile this interpretation with the hero Herakles who earns the enmity of the goddess. Farnell,<sup>101</sup> in particular, strains himself to the utmost to explain away the stepmother's wrath in favor of the concord reflected in his name and to persuade us that the humanity of Herakles is primary, his divinity secondary. Of course, no "Greek husband was ever named 'the glory of his wife,'" but how can we be so sure he was originally thought of as a Greek husband? Paul Kretschmer<sup>102</sup> has made the most sensible interpretation of the name: Hera and Herakles definitely belong together, the name meaning not "Hera's glory," but "glory acquired through Hera."<sup>103</sup> All this tension at the seams by Farnell and others would be unnecessary if we assume the divinity of one Herakles, the heroic character of the other, which means that Herakles, as a god, never received such an auspicious name only to earn the hatred of the goddess when he failed, in some later transformation or episode, to measure up to her standards of respect. It is inconceivable how one can flout the authority of the ancients to the extent of denying either the wrath of Hera or the name of Herakles; one is as genuine and real as the other, only contradictory when we try to explain away the divinity or the hero in favor of the other. Let us picture an invading people coming upon a native mother goddess whom they choose,

<sup>92</sup> P. 293.

<sup>93</sup> We know now, as was noted above, that Herakles was not the exclusive hero of the Dorians; moreover, it is still hard to determine how much the incoming Greeks contributed to his personality.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Nilsson, *Mycen. Or. of Gr. Myth.* p. 211.

<sup>95</sup> The Cerberus episode is a later version, as we shall see.

<sup>96</sup> Cook, *CR* XX (1906), pp. 365 ff.

<sup>97</sup> Nilsson, *Mycen. Or. of Gr. Myth.* pp. 189 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* IV, 120.

<sup>99</sup> Strabo 168; 170.

<sup>100</sup> A. Shulten, *RhM* LXXXVI (1937) p. 312; other associations between Hera and Herakles are mentioned by J. Prickartz, *MusB* XIV (1910) pp. 321 ff.

<sup>101</sup> *Gr. Hero Cults* pp. 99 ff.

<sup>102</sup> Glotta VIII (1917) pp. 121 ff.

<sup>103</sup> He does not believe there is any sound evidence for thinking of Herakles (p. 123) as a protector of Hera who later became her enemy; finally, he adopts the paradoxical view that Herakles the hero antedates Herakles the god (p. 126).

whether because of preference or tactful diplomacy, to reclothe and adopt under the name of Hera.<sup>104</sup> This goddess, they also observe, is associated with a male divinity by no means of the same rank and hardly her husband but still a necessary adjunct to everything she stands for. They therefore decide to call him Herakles, the glory of his female counterpart. The invaders incorporate Hera into their own divine family by marrying her to their sky god Zeus, thus leaving Herakles stranded without any important standing or function as a divinity. What then happens to this forsaken divinity? He merges his identity with another character, heroic in nature, because of a similarity either in name or function, a character who must have been closely associated with Zeus from the beginning of his career in Greece. The god in this new Herakles crops up at a number of points in his tradition, especially in his conflicts with divinities, the punishments meted out for excesses, his contacts with death, and his own end on the pyre.

I cannot pretend to have probed into the secret of Herakles' origin or the reasons for so many changes in the development of his tradition;<sup>105</sup> I do claim, however, that he is a hybrid character compounded of a pre-Hellenic concept of a male divinity and the Greek hero who, in spite of his valiant deeds, had no right to expect a resurrection after his death. The conflict over the tripod in Delphi suggests the struggle of Apollo for the possession of the oracle which must have been under divine protection even prior to his coming; though eventually subdued, the god Herakles lived on, as we shall see, in another guise, while Apollo, on the surface, effected a peaceful compromise with his opponent. Another attempt to obliterate the god in Herakles is well explained by Nilsson<sup>106</sup> commenting on Iliad V, 395 ff. The god's conquest over death was changed to a campaign against the Pylians,<sup>107</sup> because a hero,

born into a world of limitations, must eventually have succumbed to death.<sup>108</sup> The variations on this theme, i.e. the struggle with Cerberus and the journey to the gardens of the Hesperides, became two of the twelve heroic labors. The burning on the pyre, at one time the destruction of the god of the old year destined to be reborn in the spring, became the apotheosis of a hero snatched from the flames to a permanent home on Olympus.

The figure of Omphale became very popular in Hellenistic and Roman times, and here again we have an old character going back to pre-Hellenic times, one who lost her identity for centuries before she suddenly appeared in a new setting. The name is not mentioned by Herodotus,<sup>109</sup> who says the kings of Lydia were Herakleids, tracing their ancestry to Herakles and a slave girl, the daughter of Iardanus. By the time of Apollodorus, Omphale, as we have seen, was substituted for the slave girl; this version of the story was undoubtedly woven together by Kreophylos of Samos in honor of Croesus. Where did the poet find such a figure suitable to his purpose? The connection between a male and a female divinity, the latter assuming a predominant role, is an old theme in mythology and religion, one which held its ground in Asia Minor even after the triumph of Zeus on the mainland; the exchange of garments, equally as old, survived in certain cults and customs; the motive of spinning is a new one in legend and was probably added for local color, although it, too, may have early antecedents.

The name of Omphale, because of its resemblance to the omphalos, has been a tantalizing puzzle for the etymologist.<sup>110</sup> No connection between the two has been established, difficult as it is to believe there was no association between them in early religion. The problem is so much the more complicated because we know so little about the omphalos which crops up in

<sup>104</sup> There is no reason under the sun why Hera, in spite of her name, should be considered a Greek importation, as Farnell (p. 105) wishes to believe. For Hera's role as earth goddess see Cook, *Zeus* I, pp. 623-4.

<sup>105</sup> Whatever I have stated on these subjects constitutes a mere essay in probability.

<sup>106</sup> *Mycen. Origin of Gr. Myth.* pp. 89 and 203-4.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. also Rose, *op. cit.* pp. 215-6.

<sup>108</sup> Jules Prickartz, *loc. cit.* pp. 313 ff. acknowledges the ancient role of Herakles as a divinity, but unfortunately his sharp distinction between the Argive divinity and the Theban hero gives the former a portion of the labors which belong more appropriately to the hero.

<sup>109</sup> I, 6.

<sup>110</sup> H. Usener, *Goetternamen* pp. 34-8, gives a number of parallel examples.

so many localities and preserves so many associations with pre-Hellenic divinities.<sup>111</sup> From all that has been written and conjectured on the subject it appears sensible to think of the omphalos as marking the site where the sky god had fertilized mother earth with his bolt of lightning, only later, with the coming of the Greeks, taking on the new meaning of a burial mound, because newcomers have a way of burying the god of the conquered beneath the altar or shrine of their own divinity. Whether we rely on Omphale's connection with the omphalos or discard it, Omphale carries too many trappings of early religion to be put down as a new creation in a poet's mind. The painting in Naples<sup>112</sup> calls attention to both the exchange of garments and the figure of Priapus, an old bisexual god of vegetation, suggesting a former connection with fertility rites. We have already pointed out the divine features in the career of Herakles, to which Parke<sup>113</sup> lends added support by tracing his divine origin to Boeotia, not far from Delphi, to account for his conflict with Apollo over the right to dispense oracles. It may very well be that Herakles was, at this time, associated with a goddess who was lost sight of after the coming of Apollo, in which case Herakles was fighting for the rights of the goddess as well as for his own. However, even if there had been such a divinity at home here, she could be only one of the possible sources for the later Omphale.

It is generally recognized that a mother goddess was the dominant divinity in the eastern Mediterranean world before the coming of the Greeks and that she assumed a different form in different localities. With her was usually associated a male god in a subordinate role,

and again the relation between the two divinities varies from one locality to another. Among the Minoans there was apparently a definitely female divinity and another definitely male, both, according to Nilsson,<sup>114</sup> derived from nature demons (p. 382), although there are those who claim the images of the snake-goddess and others represent, not the divinities, but their worshippers.<sup>115</sup> In Asia Minor Cybele was a divinity of earth, water, light, and life, while her male counterpart, Attis, the god of transitory vegetable life, was regarded at times as a son, at times as the husband of the goddess.<sup>116</sup> Among the number of later divinities derived from the mother goddess, Hera is an outstanding example.<sup>117</sup> Did this divinity, as an earth goddess, carry over into her relation to Zeus any trace of a former connection with a male divinity? In cult and in art objects we find representations of the marriage of Zeus and Hera, the former wearing a veil, a feature which can only be regarded as a survival of pre-Hellenic times.<sup>118</sup> And what was the nature of this sacred marriage so widespread in early religion?

This sacred rite, going back to primitive times, in which the Earth Mother and the fertilizing agent were united in what we may call a symbolic marriage,<sup>119</sup> was designed to encourage the coming of spring and the fertilization of the soil. This relationship of marriage between the two seasonal phenomena, which do not become clear until they are embodied in anthropomorphic concepts, is a later construction and so has a direct bearing on our thesis. These two beings were definitely divinities who left their traces in Greek religion; even Farnell<sup>120</sup> admits that the "hero-god" Herakles is

<sup>111</sup> The latest discussion of the subject is that of E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome* (Princeton 1950) pp. 75-79. Here one may also find the important references for the subject. See also Jane Harrison, *Themis* pp. 397 ff., W. Miller, *Daedalus and Thespis* (New York 1929) pp. 71-5, and K. Kerenyi, *Niobe* (Zuerich 1949) pp. 179 ff. pl. II.

<sup>112</sup> Hermann-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums* Colored Print 3.

<sup>113</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 349-50.

<sup>114</sup> Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion (London 1927) p. 354.

<sup>115</sup> H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement* (London 1951) p. 214.

<sup>116</sup> A. W. Persson, *op. cit.* pp. 106-7 and 122.

<sup>117</sup> Cook, *op. cit.* I, pp. 623-4.

<sup>118</sup> A convenient list has been made by Cook in *Zeus* III, pp. 1025-65 and in the *CR* XX (1906) p. 378. One of its prototypes he finds in the marriage of the sun and moon on Crete, *Zeus* I, pp. 522-3. Although the marriage of Zeus and Hera may be a late development, which is Cook's main thesis, he does not claim that this particular type of marriage was introduced with the coming of Zeus.

<sup>119</sup> Again we must guard against intruding our family concept into a primitive tradition.

<sup>120</sup> *Gr. Hero Cults* p. 165-6.



exceptional among heroes in that, in ritual, he was wed, like other divinities, to a virgin priestess. Traces of his sacred marriage and the divinities thus united can be followed through Greek religion back to pre-Hellenic times;<sup>121</sup> even Zeus, as we have seen, had to submit to such a compromise. There is sound evidence for the institution of a sacred marriage on the island of Cos in which the priest, in imitation of Herakles, dressed himself in female garments.<sup>122</sup> Farnell<sup>123</sup> suggests Hebe as the other party in the marriage. The very fact that Herakles is associated with a sacred marriage adds additional weight to his divinity which may be as old as the rite itself which, in turn, has roots in the ancient Orient.<sup>124</sup> A. de Ridder<sup>125</sup> published a bronze relief, of Chalcidian origin, but found on the Acropolis of Athens, which he interpreted as an apotheosis of Herakles. A later and happier afterthought on the part of the same authority<sup>126</sup> labels it Herakles and Omphale united in a sacred marriage; the relief is dated somewhere before 550 B.C. The identification of Herakles, because of the general resemblance of the relief to the Omphale painting in Naples already referred to, is fairly certain, but to call the bride Omphale is unwarranted; nor can we be sure that Omphale was the original bride in the ritual of the Coans.<sup>127</sup> In view of the large number of variations on the earth goddess, Omphale is only one possibility among many others to fill the role of bride at Cos.<sup>128</sup> With the evidence at our disposal it is difficult to trace her original shrine either to Lydia or the Greek mainland, but we may safely say she was a derivative of the old pre-Hellenic earth goddess associated, in fertility rites, with a male

divinity who may very well have been Herakles.<sup>129</sup>

In the legend as it has come down to us we are told that Herakles was compelled to wear female garments, while Omphale wore his lion-skin and carried his club, a feature undoubtedly derived from the exchange of garments in the sacred marriage. The custom is common to many primitive peoples, as Frazer<sup>130</sup> testifies, in most instances at the time of marriage or the marking of some crucial stage in life. Cook<sup>131</sup> refers to a festival at Argos, to another in honor of Hera at Samos, a wedding night custom at Sparta, and the above mentioned Coan festival where such an exchange of garments was part of the ceremony. Such a *rite de passage* was practiced at crucial periods of life, i.e. marriage of individuals and during festivals by large groups.<sup>132</sup> The same practice spread to the worshippers in the rites of Cybele, in which case the Gallus emasculated himself, donned feminine dress, and let his hair grow long.<sup>133</sup> Prickartz<sup>134</sup> asserts that, although Hera is nowhere mentioned, the exchange of garments at the Coan festival derives from the association of Herakles with Hera, the goddess of marriage. One must beware of confusing such a use of garments with the weakening effect exerted by those sent by Deianira to Herakles and by Medea to the bride of Jason. Instead of enervating the wearer,<sup>135</sup> the purpose was apotropaic, designed to ward off any damaging influence of evil spirits, first at the time of sowing and subsequently extended to the critical periods of life when man was considered most vulnerable. Ovid<sup>136</sup> refers to an episode occurring at the time of the sacred marriage of Herakles and Omphale: Faunus, having fallen in love with the Lydian queen, attempts to ascend her

<sup>121</sup> A. Klinz, *Hieros Gamos* (Halle 1933) pp. 13 ff. gives a list of divinities involved in such rites.

<sup>122</sup> Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 58, ed. W. R. Halliday (Oxford 1928) pp. 216 ff.; see also *Iliad* XIV, 255.

<sup>123</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 165.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. P. Carlton, *Buried Empires* (New York 1939) p. 95; T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York 1950) pp. 232 ff.

<sup>125</sup> *BCH* XX (1896) pp. 401-22.

<sup>126</sup> *RA* XXXVI (1900) pp. 99-114.

<sup>127</sup> J. E. Harrison, *Themis* p. 506, also makes an interesting suggestion which, however, cannot be supported by the evidence at hand.

<sup>128</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 162, finds no trace of Omphale at Cos.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Schweitzer, *op. cit.* p. 48.

<sup>130</sup> *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London 1914) II, pp. 253 ff.

<sup>131</sup> *CR* XX (1906) pp. 376 ff.

<sup>132</sup> W. R. Halliday, *BSA* XVI (1909-10) pp. 212-19, gives a number of examples.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. H. R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration* (Chicago 1929) pp. 126-7; A. W. Persson, *op. cit.* p. 110.

<sup>134</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 324.

<sup>135</sup> Such an interpretation was fostered by comic writers and Christian apologists (cf. Tertullian, *de pallio* 4).

<sup>136</sup> *Fasti* II, 305-359.

couch after nightfall, but, deceived by the exchange in garments, finds himself on a couch next to Herakles. When the lights are kindled, Faunus is discovered sprawling on the ground, the subject of ridicule. The fact that Herakles was clad in female garments thwarted the mischievous designs of the harmful intruder which is the primary purpose of the ruse practiced at the sacred marriage. The garment of Omphale has in no way weakened her consort who handles the interfering Faunus with ease; furthermore, he performs a number of labors in the service of the Lydian queen, labors which were probably transferred by the poet from the Greek mainland; these labors would not have been inserted at this point by the poet had he wished to convey the impression of weakness in Herakles. The effeminate features of the face of Herakles when associated with Omphale in the Roman period of art were inspired by the comic poets and the prevailing misinterpretation of the whole episode.

The spinning motive seems to have its origin in Lydia where women excelled in this and the related arts; Ovid<sup>137</sup> refers to Arachne as a Lydian. Spinning, generally regarded as a woman's occupation, was handed over to the male Herakles in this case to strengthen the magical effect expected from the exchange of garments. It was meant to add what Pliny<sup>138</sup> called "auctoritatem religiosam." The best examples in sculpture showing Herakles with the distaff and spindle include the group of Herakles and Omphale in the Naples museum<sup>139</sup> (pl. 73, fig. 1), and a small bronze in The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.<sup>140</sup> (pl. 74, fig. 2). The latter, while its authenticity is questionable, presents the solitary Herakles in the act of spinning and is the most interesting illustration of the art in ancient sculpture or painting.

In summary, the association of Herakles with Omphale goes back to a much more serious union of pre-Hellenic religion, a union of the male fertilizing agent and the female reproductive power of Mother Earth. Along with the fact that the legend furnishes us with the best evidence for the sacred marriage, it has the longest continuity of any example of this sacred rite; it can also afford us, for the above reason, with interesting information about the development of a myth.

The evidence for the divinity of Herakles seeps through his later career among the Greeks: he struggles with and holds his own against other divinities, he obtains absolution by submitting to some form of degrading bondage, and finally he is snatched from the pyre to join the circle of Olympians. He is also a hero soliciting human sympathy by undertaking tasks and overcoming great obstacles in spite of the oppressive hatred of Hera. Some time after the coming of the Greeks the divinity is compromised with a hero, more than likely an importation of the invaders, who lost his name to the god; such a compromise can best explain the meaning of his name and the puzzling hatred of Hera. The center of this movement was no doubt Thebes where the story of Alcmena's conception and the birth of her two sons reveals the most obvious patchwork.<sup>141</sup> It is a decided mistake to disparage one side of Herakles in favor of the other, and it is assuming too much to claim, as Farnell and Kretschmer do, that the hero antedates the divinity. Omphale is probably an old version of an earth goddess playing a role similar to that of Hera in pre-Hellenic religion, one who survived the clash between two religious traditions and the union of Hera with Zeus. Her participation in a sacred marriage with the divine Herakles and the exchange of garments make this episode one of the oldest in Greek tradition.

The god Herakles forfeited much of his prerogative as a sky divinity to Zeus, a fact which made his compromise with the hero easier and explains the close identification of Herakles with Zeus among the peoples of the East<sup>142</sup> who still remembered the original status of the divine Herakles and were loath to allow Zeus to

<sup>137</sup> *Met.* VI, 11.

<sup>138</sup> *N.H.* XXIX, 30.

<sup>139</sup> No. 299/6406.

<sup>140</sup> D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore 1949) p. 50, pl. 23.

<sup>141</sup> J. Prickartz, *loc. cit.* pp. 337 ff. has made a worthy attempt to probe into the background of this compromise; his explanation of the hatred of Hera, however, turns out to be far from satisfactory. It should be added here that the tale of twin offspring, one divine and the other mortal, was common also in the east. Cf. T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York 1950) p. 255.

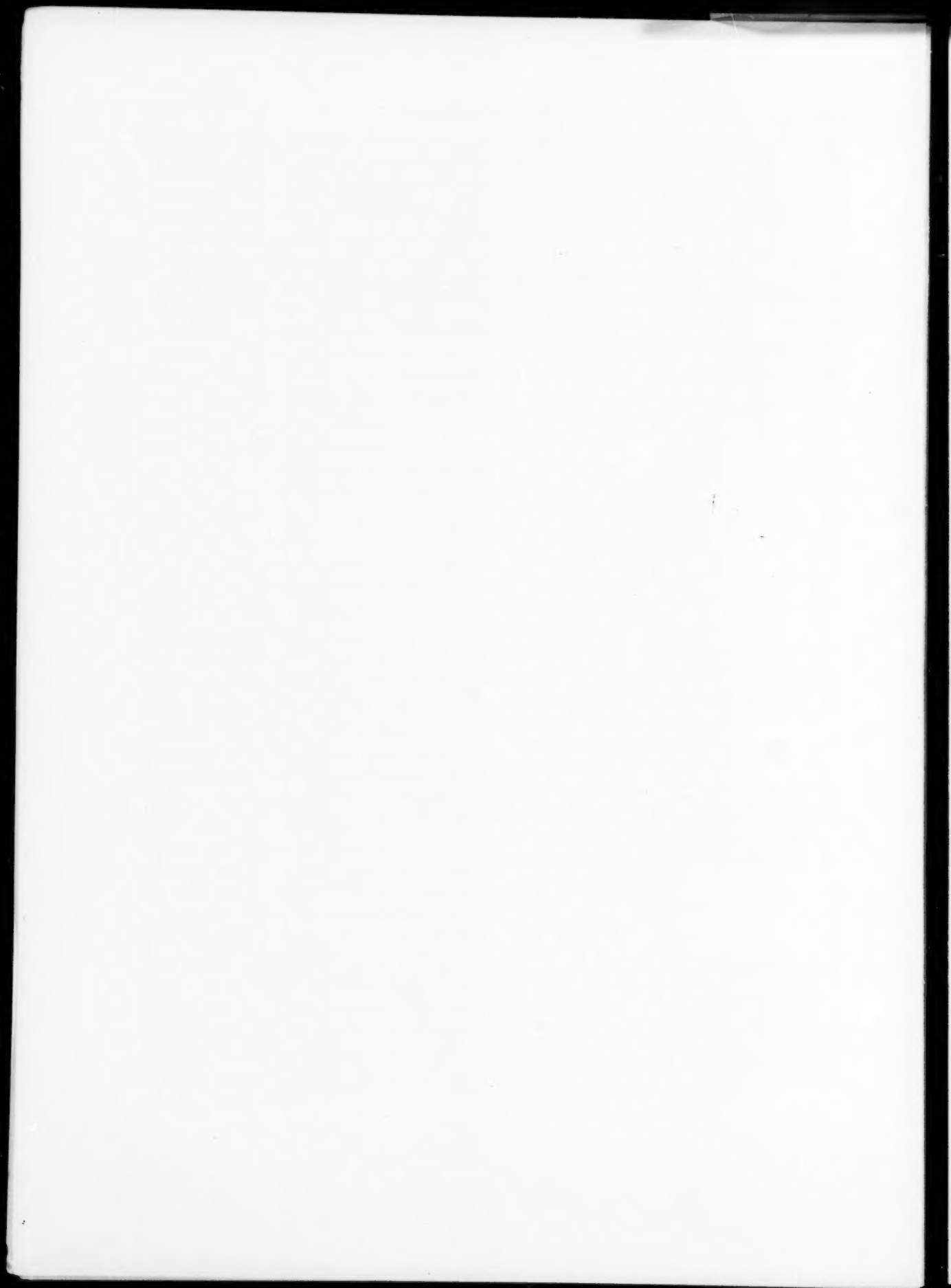
<sup>142</sup> Cook, *Zeus* I, p. 356 and II, p. 492.



steal all his thunder. As a divinity Herakles was not limited as he was in the role of a hero; his acts, i.e. his gluttony in the *Alkestis*, the begetting of fifty sons by the daughters of Thespis, the devouring of the oxen of the ploughman, were all regarded as excesses by the Greeks and made objects of ridicule by the comic poets.<sup>143</sup> The meaning of these acts is still obscure, but we can discern the serious significance beneath the comic covering of the Omphale episode which certainly belongs to the career of the divine Herakles. We can also assume that the fifth century Athenians in general and their

vase painters and sculptors in particular cherished a much higher respect for the hero in Herakles than for his divinity. Among the late Greeks and the Romans the comic interpretation of the episode is emphatically stressed: Herakles becomes an effeminate sot completely charmed and enslaved by a fickle coquette, but the trappings of the old religious rite are faithfully preserved. The Renaissance and the romantic era carried on with the tale of a seductive siren in the sculpture of Blanchard and the music of Saint-Saëns' distorted version of the legend.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Nilsson, *Mycen. Or. of Gr. Myth.*, pp. 202-3.



## A BRONZE STATUETTE OF A NEGRO

DOROTHY KENT HILL

### PLATE 75

THE bronze statuette here illustrated for the first time deserves attention not only because its subject, the Negro, is rare in antiquity, but also because it is finely worked and interestingly posed, facts which may momentarily escape the beholder since it is badly damaged. It was acquired by The Walters Art Gallery in 1951 through a firm which has dealt extensively in objects from Egypt and the Near East, but its history cannot be traced.<sup>1</sup>

The figure, which measures .102 m. from head to floor, is a Negro wearing a girt tunic, bending to the left and slightly forward, with both feet firmly planted on the ground, the left in advance of the right, and both knees bent. It is a solid cast, with a crude, irregular under-surface to the tunic. The neck is twisted so that the head turns almost to the right shoulder. Both arms are broken off and there is a skillful repair just above the left ankle. In so far as one can judge from a broken area under the back of the skirt, the bronze is rather dark and somewhat bubbly. Small areas of the surface are clear; still smaller ones are eaten away; while the greater part is thickly encrusted. Wherever it is neither pitted nor corroded, the surface is black; whether from original silvering, accidental silvering during chemical change, damage by fire, or still another cause, it is impossible to say. At points there is heavy red immediately over the black surface, and the outermost coating of all is generally of green, which in certain places can be seen to overlie the red. In areas which do not lend themselves to cleaning, such as the hair, the green is in shiny crystals. Elsewhere it has been worked off or pol-

ished naturally until the surface is fairly smooth. Mud in some crevices and a few spots of greenish white should be mentioned to complete the description of the condition.

The neck is heavy, long, and twisted, the small head is narrow as if it had been pressed from the sides, and the face is correspondingly narrow. The lower jaw undershoots the upper. The jaw, the hair, and the flat nose, and a certain undefinable look to the whole, stamp the face as Negroid, though the lips are not very thick and the mouth is not of exaggerated size. The mouth turns down at the corners. The eyes are not inlaid, but cast in the bronze, and their pupils are indicated by tiny dots. The brows may have been hatched. The short curls, very badly damaged and broken off in great part, are bunched on top of the head and behind the ears. The damage adds to the irregularity and the odd shape of the whole head, but even on careful inspection there fails to be disclosed any sign of a radial formation such as is usual for Negro curls in Classical representations. Possibly the curls were incised spirally in imitation of hairs, but such detail is now completely obscured by the thick patina.

The tunic covers both shoulders in an arrangement which, except in the presence of a second garment, denotes a slave.<sup>2</sup> It projects clearly and distinctly all around the neck, with a decided bulge at center front. The lower edge is distinct everywhere except in an abraded area on the outside of the right knee. The girdle is visible only across the back, being concealed by the *kolpos* of the tunic at sides and front. The tunic is raised by the girdle at the left, and so it

<sup>1</sup> The Walters Art Gallery, 54.2372.

<sup>2</sup> Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* pl. L, 2, and p. 80.

is shorter over the left thigh than over the right. One cannot see the ends of the sleeves; presumably they stopped about where the arms are broken. Along the right shoulder runs a very faint line indicating the joining of back and front of the garment. The modelling of the drapery is good. There are swinging folds in the back, straight ones in front, worked with depth, not with a mere "incised" technique. In places, especially on the back at the right, just above the waist, there are fine lines suggesting a checkerboard of creases such as might have been formed by the folding of the garment in storage, but these traces are too indistinct for certainty in the matter.

Each foot is flat on the bottom, gently corroded and without any trace of a pouring gate or means of attachment other than the present prong. The feet must have been soldered to the base and they are so flat that any variation in the pose of the statuette is unthinkable. The pose, difficult as it is to understand, must be accepted. It is this flat position of both feet which transforms an orthodox pose, the traditional giant stride that denotes action, into something almost grotesque. This impression is heightened by the costume, by the ugly line of the tunic drawn tight across the thighs.

We cannot hope to ascertain the subject of so unconventional a figure, but a few possibilities may be cited. If it belongs to a group of two or more, we are defeated at the start. It is not out of order to suggest a second figure, exactly counterposed, to form a group on the order of the two little seated Negroes in Berlin.

If we suppose the Negro to have stood alone, we must ask whether artistic balance could be achieved without the addition of more than the missing arms. Hands held aloft and judiciously arranged could go far toward restoring equilibrium. A moment in a dance, a pose that could not be sustained for more than a moment — a pose no white person would think of assuming — such could have been the sculptor's ambition. Obviously, the figure could be completed with something to support the right arm or something to pull at with both hands.

In any case, whether he stood alone or belonged to a group, we should investigate the possibility that his hands touched the body. There are two areas where there may have been

such contact: the abraded section near the right knee, already mentioned, and a deep hole in the heavy fold of the material to the left of the back, just above the waist. At either of the points, attachment of a hand is possible, but at neither does it seem probable. On the whole, it seems to me most likely that the figure was dancing alone.

For any Classical representation of a Negro, Egypt naturally suggests herself as a source. In this case all other evidence points in the same direction, so that Egyptian origin seems almost certain. The crystalline green surface was singled out by Neugebauer as characteristic of Egyptian bronzes, notably when he first established a group of two seated Negroes in the Berlin Museum, a dancing satyr in the same museum, and a standing Negro in the Louvre.<sup>3</sup> These he dated in the decades about the birth of Christ, but in his last publication, when he again discussed the same four pieces as the work of one shop, he gave the date as not earlier than the first century of our era.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere in the same book he spoke of the resemblance of a dwarf statuette to Egyptian bronzes generally and to this group in particular "in der weichen, skizzenhaften Formgebung";<sup>5</sup> and he recognized as in the same category a silene from Erment<sup>6</sup> and a Negro from Erment, now in The Walters Art Gallery.<sup>7</sup> He cited the tiny jug in the dwarf's hand and the fact that such jugs exist in

<sup>3</sup> K. A. Neugebauer, "Aus der Werkstatt eines griechischen Toreuten in Ägypten," *Schumacher-Festschrift* (1930), 233-237. For a view of the Louvre Negro showing the face, see Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* II, pl. CI, opp. p. 900.

<sup>4</sup> K. A. Neugebauer, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen im Antiquarium, II: Die griechischen Bronzen der klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus* (1951), 81.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>6</sup> *AA* (1903), 80, fig. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Walters Art Gallery, 54.702. Ht. .09 m. *AA* (1906), 139, 141 fig. 9; Hill, *Cat. of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the W.A.G.* (1949), 71, no. 149, pl. 5; S. Reinach, *Rép. de la Stat.* 4, p. 354, no. 6. The figure was broken through the calf of the left leg and photographed for *AA* in a position tipping forward. A piece of bronze was later attached to the leg and it extends into a hole in the base; however, the leg still is not quite long enough and the figure should tilt slightly farther back. The repaired leg escaped my notice when I wrote my catalogue.

the glazed technique with barbotine decoration as evidence for a date not earlier than the first century A.D.

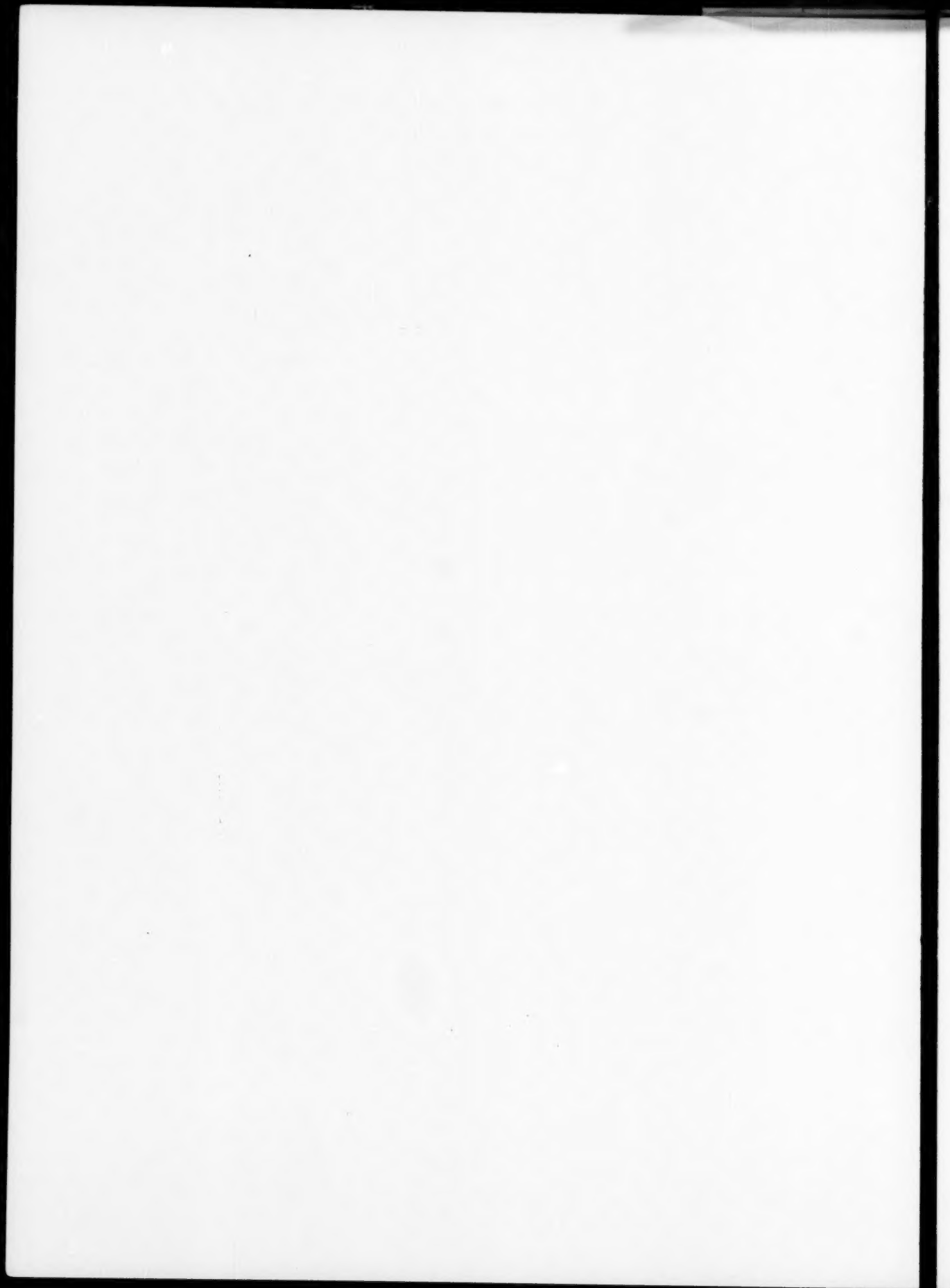
With all these pieces our bronze has much in common, enough, it seems to me, to establish it as Egyptian of approximately the same date. "Skizzenhaften Formgebung" is an excellent description of its legs and feet, which resemble those of the satyr of Neugebauer's group. The drapery, however, is different and better. In the good rendition of the swinging folds on its back and its tightly drawn small folds, it reminds one of the small Negro in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which happens to wear the same costume.<sup>8</sup> Such treatment is the exact opposite of incision. For the face we might suggest as the closest parallels the same statuette, or the little Negro swimmer in Carnuntum.<sup>9</sup> It

differs, however, from them all, and its merit may be said to be originality. The fact that it cannot at the present moment be attributed to a sculptor or to a workshop detracts not at all from its interest.

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<sup>8</sup> Babelon and Blanchet, *Cat. des Bronzes*, 440, no. 1010.

<sup>9</sup> Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization* 93 f., fig. 18. The replica in Lisbon mentioned here raises an interesting problem, for, while it is known that duplication was common in Egyptian factories, the date when such duplication was first practiced is not established. According to Beardsley (*loc. cit.* and 95 f.), the Carnuntum and Lisbon figures are swimmers, and also the Negro formerly in the Fouquet Collection, which is not a replica but rather similar: Perdrizet, *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la Collection Fouquet* (1911) 57, no. 93, pl. XXV.





## ILLUSTRATIONS TO AESCHYLOS' TETRALOGY ON THE PERSEUS THEME

THALIA PHILLIES HOWE

### PLATE 76

OF all the Attic dramatists of the fifth century B.C. Aeschylus was the only one to devote a whole tetralogy to the Perseus theme and the only one to employ the theme at all in the first third of the century. Sophokles and Euripides used various aspects of it, as did the comic poet Kratinos in his *Seriphioi*, which parodied the flight of Perseus from the Gorgons and the subsequent punishment of King Polydektes.<sup>1</sup> There also remains the title of the play *Perseus*, by Aristias, the satyr playwright, for which he won second prize in 467 B.C.<sup>2</sup> In addition Suidas has attributed an *Andromeda* to Phrynikos, the younger playwright by that name, but since there are no fragments extant, there is considerable doubt he ever wrote such a play.<sup>3</sup> In any case, there is evidence that the dramatists of this period were using the com-

plex of episodes that had evolved about the central core of the myth: the slaying of the Gorgon by Perseus.<sup>4</sup>

In general Aeschylus favored the tetralogy form, that lengthy scheme which gave him the leisurely scope for showing the spiritual growth of a hero who is aided by Olympian powers in his triumph over the ancient, irrational forces of fear, represented in this case by the Gorgon. Thus, in the *Oresteia*, his most classic example, Aeschylus showed Orestes' triumph over the Furies.

Of the Perseus tetralogy, the titles and subject matter of only three of the plays are known: the *Phorkides*, which dealt with the arming of Perseus and the slaying of the Gorgons; the *Polydektes*, with Perseus' slaying of Polydektes who held his mother Danae captive; and finally,

<sup>1</sup> Sophokles: There is some confusion over the titles and subject matter of his plays on the Perseus theme, of which only the *Andromeda* is known for certain. Other titles are the *Larisaioi*, *Akrisios* and the *Danae*, but there is some dispute as to whether these represent the same or separate plays. F. Welcker *Die griech. Trag.* 1 (Bonn 1839) p. 348 ff. F. Wagner *Poetarum Tragicorum Fragmenta* 1 (Warsaw 1844) pp. 198-202, fr. 69-77. A. Nauck *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 2 (Leipzig 1889) pp. 143 ff, 157 ff, 168 ff, 213 ff. R. Jebb, W. Headlam, H. Pearson *Fragments of Sophocles* 1 (Cambridge 1917) pp. 38, 115. R. J. Walker *Sophoclean Fragments* (London 1921) pp. 5, 9, 11, 33. C. Post *HSCP* 33 (1922) pp. 14-16. T. B. L. Webster *An Introduction to Sophocles* (Oxford 1936) p. 173. W. N. Bates *Satyr Dramas of Sophocles in Capps Studies* (Princeton 1936) pp. 14-23.

Euripides: He wrote a *Diktys*, a *Danae* and his celebrated *Andromeda* on the theme. A. Matthiae *Euripidis Tragoediae et Fragmenta* 9 (Leipzig 1829) pp. 44 ff, 138 ff, 153 ff. G. Dindorf *Euripidis Tragoediae et Frag-*

*menta* 2 (Oxford 1833) pp. 835 ff, 884-890. F. Welcker *Die griech. Trag.* 2 (Bonn 1839) pp. 636-674. A. Nauck (*supra*) p. 453. W. N. Bates *Euripides* (Philadelphia 1930) p. 243.

Kratinos: Th. Kock *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* 1 (Leipzig 1880) pp. 75 ff, fr. 205-217.

<sup>2</sup> A. Nauck *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 2 1 (Leipzig 1889) p. 726 ff. *IG* 1 2.2 fr. 977a.

<sup>3</sup> Phrynikos: *RE* s.v. "Phrynikos" 5.

<sup>4</sup> The full account of the myth with all its episodes is known from Pherekydes as preserved in the Scholia to the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius and the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus. Fr. Sturz *Pherekydis Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1824) p. 72 ff. Scholia to *Argonautica* 4, 1091, 1515 (*FHG* 1 p. 75, fr. 26). C. Wendel *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* (Berlin 1935) p. 305 ff. Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.4.3 (p. 46 ff ed. R. Hercher, Berlin 1874). Scholia *Iliad* 14, 319 (p. 46 ff ed. W. Dindorf, London 1877). F. G. Welcker *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) p. 378 ff.

the satyr-play, the *Diktyoulokoí*, which dealt with the landing of Danae and the infant Perseus on the island of Seriphos.<sup>5</sup> It will be the main purpose of this paper, therefore, to offer some suggestions as to the subject matter of the missing fourth part of the tetralogy.

Aeschylus is the only one of these dramatists who devoted a whole play, the *Phorkides*, to the arming of the hero and his execution of the Gorgon. Pherekydes, the mythographer, recounts that the hero first had to obtain from the Graiae, the Phorkides, the knowledge of the whereabouts of the Nymphs or Naiads, who, in turn, supplied him with the equipment necessary for the Gorgon-slaying.<sup>6</sup> This scene of Perseus and the Naiads is beautifully depicted on a Chalkidian vase painting of the mid-sixth century B.C.<sup>7</sup> Pherekydes and this Chalkidian artist are probably following an older tradition. Robert and Boehlau have shown that Aeschylus eliminated this visit of Perseus to the Nymphs, probably to avoid an obvious repetition of action; they also believed that in the Aeschylean version Perseus received this equipment directly from Hermes and then sought the Graiae in order to gain access to the Gorgons.<sup>8</sup> It was of course a typically Aeschylean conception to have the hero obtain his magic weapons from the Olympians rather than from these obscure Nymphs, since for Aeschylus the magic weapons of old could have no

"magic" except insofar as they were imbued with the communicative courage of the Olympian powers.

It should be relatively easy to identify illustrations inspired by the rather exotic figures of the Phorkides. Séchan has already provided two examples in his *Études sur la Tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, the more important of which is on a late fifth century Attic pyxis lid. It shows Perseus creeping on hands and knees between two of the three Graiae as he attempts to steal their precious eye and tooth—a scene one can readily imagine enacted.<sup>9</sup> The artist, however, has chosen to render the Graiae, the "Old Women," as black-haired, lovely creatures. Nor is there any way of knowing whether in this regard he is simply taking liberties or is copying from a particular dramatic performance. The Phorkides appear similarly young and fair on an Hellenistic example which has the same scene in relief.<sup>10</sup> Seated next to the Graiae in the Attic painting is a gray-haired old man who must be their father, Phorkys, the Old Man of the Sea. Also included are Hermes and Athena, whom we might expect in an Attic painting, and, in addition, Poseidon. Boehlau has suggested that this god may have been included because of his relation to Medusa, his former consort; although he is powerless to alter her fate or to help, he still seems to hover about

<sup>5</sup> N. Wecklein *Aeschylou Dramata* 2 (Athens 1896) p. 578, 607 ff. F. Welcker *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 4) p. 378 ff. titled the dramas *Danae*, *Phorkides* and *Diktyoulokoí* and regarded the satyr-play as unknown. G. Hermann *Aeschyli Tragoediae* 1 (Berlin 1859) pp. 320-3. L. Séchan *Études sur la Tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris 1926) p. 107 ff. C. Robert *Griechische Heldensage* (Berlin 1920) p. 226 and n. 3. Ancient references to the title *Diktyoulokoí*: *De Nat. Animal.* 7.47. Hesychius *Lexikon* δῶσθαι. δαίνοσθαι. Pollux *Onomast.* 7.35.

<sup>6</sup> Apollod. *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 4) 2.4.2. Apollon. Rhod. *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 4) 4.1515. C. Robert *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 5) p. 225 ff. In a late fifth century B.C. vase painting of Attica, Perseus is represented receiving the harpe from Athena: R. Gargiulo *Raccolta del Real Mus. Borbonico* 2 (Naples 1845) pl. 62.

<sup>7</sup> E. Gerhard *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder* 4 (Berlin 1858) pl. 323.2. E. Kühnert s.v. "Perseus" in *Roscher Lex. der griech. u. röm. Myth.* 3.2 p. 2034 fig. 7. p. 2037. J. Woodward *Perseus* (Cambridge 1937) fig. 12a.

There was a painting of similar theme in the Temple of Chalikiokos at Sparta, Paus. 3.17.3; also Frazer's commentary.

<sup>8</sup> J. Boehlau *AM* 11 (1886) pp. 369-70. C. Robert *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 5) pp. 225-7.

<sup>9</sup> L. Séchan *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 5) p. 109 fig. 34. J. Boehlau *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) pp. 369-70, pl. 10. J. Woodward *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) p. 80 fig. 27. Aristotle *Poet.* 1456a.2 cited the *Phorkides* and the *Prometheus* as plays distinguished for the display of the marvellous.

<sup>10</sup> C. Robert *Hermes* 36 (1901) pp. 159-60 believed that the Aeschylean *Phorkides* was the inspiration. F. Courby *Vases grecs à reliefs* (Paris 1922) p. 307 #33. L. Séchan *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 5) p. 111. There is some doubt as to the exact interpretation of this scene, whether Perseus is in the act of stealing from the Graiae or is restoring the eye and tooth after he no longer needed them. But it seems obvious that his pose is furtive and unsuited to the action of returning the objects. R. Kekulé *Annali d'Inst.* 45 (1873) p. 126 ff. L. Séchan *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 5) pp. 110-11.

her.<sup>11</sup> Due to all these differences it is questionable to what extent these two artists could have been influenced by a performance of the Aeschylean *Phorkides*.

Not a single fragment survives of the subsequent drama in the trilogy, the *Polydektes*. The title alone, however, circumscribes the action: Perseus returns to Seriphos with the Medusa head, his fatal gift for Polydektes who, together with his followers, is turned to stone at the sight of it.<sup>12</sup> Thus Danae is freed from captivity, which was Perseus' original motive in obtaining the head.

It is difficult to imagine that Aeschylos would or could ever have staged the lithification of Polydektes and his followers, and Séchan, by not including any illustrations for this play in his *Study* would tacitly lead us to deduce that he is also of this opinion. Of vase paintings actually rendering this scene, the first is too early to have been inspired by the Aeschylean drama: a fragment of a sixth century, black-figured vase which shows Perseus mounting a bema while carrying the Medusa head in the kibisis.<sup>13</sup> He is almost ready to expose it, for a seated figure to the left, Polydektes presumably, has turned his head away. From the fifth century there are vase paintings extant which show this event with the explicitness permitted the artist if not the dramatist. In two of these scenes King Polydektes appears with hand outstretched in protest to Perseus who holds up the Medusa head; and in one the king is represented as already turned to amorphous rock from the waist down.<sup>14</sup> On the other side of

this vase is painted a warrior-attendant of Polydektes whose flesh has turned to a mass of light stone although his weapons remain of dark metal.<sup>15</sup> A third vase depicts Perseus and Polydektes, but the king is not lithified.<sup>16</sup> There is certainly a dramatic quality to this scene, as Woodward remarks, even theatrical; yet it is impossible to say how closely it may have approached an actual scene in the drama. In any case the act of lithification would never have been rendered on the classical stage; at most it would have been described by a messenger. Therefore there was no specific *visual* prototype to influence these artists, so that for all we know they may have been inspired by any *oral* description of the act, poetic or prosaic.

As for the *Diktyoulkoi*, the satyr-play that rounded out the myth, several delightful fragments of it were found in Egypt before the war.<sup>17</sup> What illustrations there are date from the middle of the fifth century, in which case it is very doubtful that they were inspired by the Aeschylean play.<sup>18</sup> They may have been done, rather, under the influence of the *Seriphioi* of Aristias, produced in 467 B.C., which dealt with the same episode as the *Diktyoulkoi*, the fishermen of Seriphos.<sup>19</sup>

There finally arises the main problem of this paper, namely the question of the subject matter of the unknown drama of this tetralogy, for which not even a title is left to suggest a solution. Since, however, Aeschylos had already dramatized most of the events that formed the regular complex of this myth, there are only two thematic possibilities left: the drama dealt

<sup>11</sup> J. Bochlau *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8).

<sup>12</sup> Apollod. 2.4.2-4. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. 4, 1515. Fr. Welcker *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 4) p. 387 ff.

<sup>13</sup> C. Tsountas *Ephem.* (1885) p. 124 ff, pl. 5, 4b. P. Kretschmer "Zwei Perseus-Sagen auf attischen Vasen." *JDAI* 7 (1892) p. 38. B. Graef-Langlotz *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis I* (Berlin 1925) p. 93, Athens, Prov. 880, 884. Tsountas believed that Perseus was showing the head to Kepheus, which Kretschmer refuted.

<sup>14</sup> O. Jahn *Philologus* 27 (1868) p. 15, pl. 3. *Annali d'Inst.* 53 (1881) pl. F. J. Woodward *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) p. 77 ff, fig. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Pindar noted that the islanders of Seriphos were turned into stone: *Pyth.* X, 46 ff. The vase painting implies that it was the retainers, the body-guard of the king who were turned to stone. As the body-guard of Polydektes these warriors were, in a sense, projections of

the king and his power as well as protectors of his body, and therefore had to be lithified, unmanned, as well.

<sup>16</sup> O. Jahn *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 14) pp. 12-13, pl. 1, 1. This painting may well have been influenced by the Pinakothek painting described by Pausanias 1.22.7, rather than by any dramatic presentation.

<sup>17</sup> M. Norsa and Vitelli *BSRAA* 28 (1932) p. 107 ff; 29 (1933) p. 247-8; *Mélanges Bidez* 2.2 (1934) p. 965 ff. A. Körte *Hermes* 68 (1933) p. 267. Schmid-Staehlin *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.* 7.1.2 (1934) p. 262. R. Goossens *ChronEg* 19 (1935) p. 120. A. Körte *ArchP* 11 (1935) p. 249 (802). *Papiri Greci et Latini* 11 (1935), #1209, p. 97. C. Fritsch *Neue Fragmente des Aischylos und Sophokles* (Hamburg 1936) pp. 7-12. E. Lobel *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Part 18, p. 9 ff. R. Pfeiffer "Die Netzfischer des Aischylos," *SBBayer.* (1933), Heft 2, p. 19 ff.

<sup>18</sup> C. Clairmont *AJA* 57 (1953) pp. 92-4, pls. 50-52.

<sup>19</sup> Aristias: *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2).

either with the golden union of Jupiter and Danae, the birth of Perseus and their expulsion by Akrisios; or, with the return of Perseus as a young man and his accidental slaying of his grandfather Akrisios. If the latter theme were the one actually used, then this play would have had to follow the *Polydektes* which would mean that two dramas of very similar themes were performed one after the other. Indeed, such may have happened, in which case certainly the genius of Aeschylus would have avoided any monotonous repetition. Although no extant literature can throw any light on this point, fortunately there are three vase paintings which seem to indicate the former possibility as the solution.

These paintings, all dated about 490 B.C., depict Danae standing with the small Perseus by the great chest to which her father Akrisios is condemning them. On comparison, it will be immediately apparent that the three artists of these scenes, the lesser Douris (formerly known as the Triptolemos Painter), the Gallatin Painter, and the Eucharides Painter evince certain stylistic differences which are due to the fact that these artists were not really all of the same generation even though they were contemporaries.<sup>20</sup> The Lesser Douris, for example, was an older contemporary of the Eucharides Painter, who, therefore, already handled the scene in severe, early classical style.

On examining the scene as rendered by the Lesser Douris, (plate 76, A) we see the kingly

figure of Akrisios with staff in hand; in the center Danae with her royal diadem and hair drawn up as she holds Perseus in her arms; and the carpenter with his garment bunched about his waist, busily at work with the bow-drill.<sup>21</sup> Dominating the scene is the great chest with its heavy claw feet, star pattern, and three air-holes, symbolic of the poignant voyage of the mother and child. It is particularly noteworthy how the father and daughter gesticulate toward each other, actively engaged in passionate dialogue while the slave works dumbly by. The scene is virtually the same as handled by the Gallatin Painter (plate 76, B), even to such details as the bow-drill, the claw feet, star pattern, and air-holes of the great chest.<sup>22</sup> The two protagonists fall into the same gestures and the carpenter is attempting to be as unobtrusive as before. Only this time Perseus is held by another woman whose gesture echoes Danae's protest at Akrisios' unbelievable action in condemning his child and grandchild to the drift of the sea. Nor is there any need for altering the description as seen for the third time, rendered now by the Eucharides Painter (plate 76, C).<sup>23</sup> Only the bow-drill has disappeared from the hands of the carpenter who still hunches in the same attitude over the same chest. There has been added a single column in the background, by means of which the Eucharides Painter boldly indicated the palace setting.

So marked is the similarity of detail in these three scenes that we must recognize the likeli-

<sup>20</sup> On problem of dating works of artists who reflect an older style: G. Richter *Kouroi* (New York 1942) pp. 8 ff; *Attic Red-Fig. Vases* (New Haven 1946) p. 23. J. Beazley *CR* 59 (1945) p. 71 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Lesser Douris (Triptolemos Painter): F. Welcker *Alte Denkmäler* 4 (Göttingen 1861) p. 275 ff, pl. 17.1. E. Gerhard "Danae," *Winckelmannsprogramm*. (Berlin 1854) pl. 1. J. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* 1 (Leipzig 1872) pl. 6.3. A. B. Cook *Zeus* 3 (Cambridge 1914-40) p. 457. J. Harrison and MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* (London 1894) pl. 34. J. Beazley *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1942) p. 239. G. Richter *Attic Red-Figure Vases* p. 83. J. Woodward *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) p. 61, fig. 17b. On the other side of this vase the Lesser Douris rendered in his exquisite fashion a scene which did not figure in the drama although the event must have been bitterly discussed by father and daughter, namely her conception by Zeus in the guise of a shower of gold. J. Overbeck pl. 6.2. F. Welcker pl. 16. J. Woodward fig. 17a. There was also the tradition that Danae was seduced, not by

Zeus, but by her father's brother, Proitos: Pindar fr. 38 (141) (ed. A. Boeckh *Pindari Opera* 2, Leipzig 1821, p. 635). Scholia *Iliad* 14, 319.

<sup>22</sup> Gallatin Painter: *BMFA* 12 (1914) p. 6, fig. 6. J. Beazley *Attic Red-Fig. Vases in Amer. Mus.* (Harvard 1918) p. 51, fig. 32; *Attic Red-Fig.* p. 163, in this Beazley assigns the vase to the Gallatin Painter which formerly had been assigned to the Painter of the Diogenes Amphora. The latter was probably an earlier phase of the Gallatin Painter. P. Clodé *La Vie publique et privée des anciens grecs*, vol. 5, *Les Classes* (Paris 1931) pl. 26. S. Casson *Tech. of Early Greek Sculpture* (Oxford 1933) fig. 82.

<sup>23</sup> Eucharides Painter: J. Overbeck *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 21) pl. 6.4. F. Welcker *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 21) pl. 17.2. J. Beazley *Attic Red-Fig. Vases in Amer. Mus.* p. 45 ff, fig. 28; *Attic Red-Fig.* p. 157. This vase compares in date with others by this artist: G. Richter and L. Hall *Red-Fig. Athenian Vases in Metr. Mus.* (New Haven 1936) 445 pl. 19.



hood that they had a single visual prototype. Such a visual prototype could have been afforded by a contemporary mural painting, about which no mention survives today, or by a single dramatic performance. By virtue of the intense degree and kind of gesturing the figures are indulging in, I am led to believe that this source of inspiration was histrionic. All the excitement of drama is caught in the figure of Akrisios who is most imperious with his arm upraised, while Danae holds out her hands to fend off the horror of his command. Even the little Perseus extends his arms in yearning and protest. Such bold gesturing is necessary in a large outdoor theater where the characters wear masks that conceal their facial expressions and cut off some of their finer vocal inflections. In that case considerable mime must be employed which brings into play the whole body and particularly the bold language of the hands. Though the artists who painted scenes from Greek drama did not depict the masks, they imitated the sweeping gestures that so enliven their paintings.

Now the fact that these three paintings show only two principal characters may or may not be indicative of a dramatic source. We know that Aeschylos used the second actor, an innovation which is credited to him at least as early as 492 B.C. in the *Suppliants*.<sup>24</sup> The other woman at the side of Danae is certainly suggestive of the chorus, which played a dominant part in this early period and in which respect the Perseus tetralogy could hardly have been an exception. But between the long choral odes which unfolded the meaning of the events, there were brief and impassioned dialogues in which the two chief antagonists contended. The scene painted by the three artists suggests that they had been deeply moved by just such a vital dialogue in which the conflicting characters bring on their doom.

There is also one minor, technical point which indicates that the stage was the more likely source of inspiration, that is, the air-holes. This is a literal detail that one or the other of the artists, or all three for that matter, might easily have overlooked had they been creating without a visual prototype. But it is not the kind of detail that would be overlooked by an alert stage-manager like Aeschylos,

not only because it could help account for the presence of the carpenter and his bow-drill, but was necessary in keeping Danae and Perseus from suffering discomfort once they were actually shut in the chest in the course of the stage-action, as the realistic air-holes seem to suggest was the case.<sup>25</sup>

How closely these three scenes are bound together in action, mood and inspiration can best be realized by comparison with a fourth example of the same scene, executed by the Deepdene Painter some twenty or twenty-five years later (plate 76, D).<sup>26</sup> On this, the two leading figures, instead of exhorting with fully outstretched arms, now favor more inverted expressions. Akrisios, though imperious enough, merely leans on his staff, while Danae, repressing any outcry with her hand, shrinks away from him and seems already to reflect on the coming voyage. The supernumeraries, who have been joined by a woman with a royal staff, probably Eurydice the mother of Danae, express their reaction more eloquently than the protagonists. The carpenter, no longer mute, now freely looks his horror, while the other figure holds her nose in shock and disgust at the stench of bloodless murder. Undeniably this too is dramatic action, but it is of a different kind. The characters, instead of gesticulating in the *midst* of passionate dialogue, now express their varied psychological reactions to it. Thus we would be justified in saying that the Deepdene Painter was probably inspired not only by an actual drama, in this case most likely the *Akrisios* of Sophokles, but that he was at least as much influenced by the great contemporary muralist Polygnotos, who was noted

<sup>24</sup> Introduction of the second actor: Aristotle *Poet.* 1449a. 13. A. Haigh *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks* (Oxford 1896) p. 61 ff. Ul. Wilamowitz *Aeschylos Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914) p. 244, considered the Perseus trilogy an early work.

<sup>25</sup> A. Haigh *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) p. 74.

<sup>26</sup> The Deepdene Painter: J. Beazley *Attic Red-Fig.* p. 326. G. Richter and L. Hall *Red-Fig. Athenian Vases in Metr. Mus.* 1, p. 112 #82, pls. 85, 86, 173 #82. G. Richter *AJA* 27 (1923) pp. 279-81, figs. 16-18. Concerning the nurse's gesture of holding her nose, Richter says on p. 280 n. 5, that she could find no parallel to this gesture, "but the following word group is eloquent enough: *μύσσομαι* — to blow the nose, *μυσσάρτομαι* — to feel disgust, *μυσσός* — foul, dirty, *μύσος* — an abomination."



for his portrayals of just such scenes of psychological reaction to an immediately preceding action.

Some ten years after his other attempt, the Eucharides Painter again illustrated the sentencing of Danae by Akrisios (plate 76, E).<sup>27</sup> But this time the artist rendered the scene as if moved by an effect remembered rather than one freshly experienced: now Danae sits unprotected in the chest; the supernumeraries, the women and the carpenter, are forgotten; forgotten too are the heavy claw feet of the chest and its star pattern, while only its massive bulk and the poignant air-holes remain. What obviously still dominated the artist's memory was the figure of Akrisios in the gesture of pronouncing the death penalty.

The addition of the second column to this scene is interesting, but need not be taken to mean that the Eucharides Painter was attempting a literal reproduction of a stage-setting. Although Aristotle and Vitruvius tell us that scenery, by which permanent scenery is implied, was not introduced until the middle of the century, this still does not eliminate the possibility that some sort of painted backdrop may have been in use earlier in the century.<sup>28</sup> But whether or not he was inspired by an actual scene from drama, the Eucharides Painter could at least still exercise the artist's privilege of including such devices that were already part of contemporary mural painting.

It is entirely possible that other, non-dramatic literature of the early fifth century may have inspired the vase painting scenes just discussed. One may well argue that the Lesser Douris, the Gallatin Painter and the Eucharides Painter may have been moved not by Aeschylus, but by the *12th Pythian Ode* of Pindar which was composed in 490 B.C. and was therefore closely contemporaneous with the execution of the three vase paintings. These are the episodes of the myth as the poet gives them:<sup>29</sup>

δέξαι στεφάνωμα τόδ' ἐκ  
Πυθῶνος εὐδόξῳ Μίδῳ . . . .  
αὐτόν τε νιν Ἑλλάδα νι —  
κῶσαντα τέχνη, τὸν ποτε  
Παλλὰς ἐφείρε θρασιῶν Γοργῶνων  
οὐλοῖον θρήνον διαπλέξασ' Ἀθήνα  
τὸν παρθεῖνός ὑπὸ τ' ἄ —  
πλάτοισι ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς

αἶε λειβόμενον δυσ —  
πειθεί σὺν καμάτῳ  
Περσεύς, ὅποτε τρίτον ἄ —  
νῆσεν κασιγνητῶν μέρος,  
ἐνναλίᾳ τε Σερίφῳ λα —  
οἰσί τε μοῖραν ἄγων,  
ἦτοι τό τε θεσπέσιον  
Φόρκοιο μαύρωσεν γένος,  
λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον Πολυδέ —  
κτα θῆκε ματρός τ' ἐμπεδον  
δουλοσύναν τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος,  
εὐπαράσιν κῶτα συλάσας Μειδοίσας  
νῆος Δανάας τὸν ἀπὸ  
χρυσοῦ φάμεν αὐτορῦτον  
ἔμμεναι . . . .

On reading it over, however, it is apparent that there is nothing in that Ode that could account for the close similarity of detail in these three vase paintings, and it would be hard to imagine any other literary, non-dramatic work that could. Clearly the prototype for these paintings had to be visual.

As for the *10th Pythian Ode*, dated 498 B.C., this also mentions the Gorgon-slaying, but only briefly:<sup>30</sup>

. . . ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν (κεν) εὖροις  
ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θανματῶν ὁδόν.  
παρ' οἷς ποτε Περσεύς  
ἰδαίσαστο λαγέτας,  
δῶματ' ἐσελθὼν,  
κλειτὰς ὄνων ἑκατόμ —  
βας ἐπιτόσσαις θεῶ  
ρέζοντας . . . .  
. . . . . θρασεῖ —  
α δὲ πνέων καρδίᾳ  
μόλεν Δανάας ποτὲ παῖς, ἀγείτο δ' Ἀθήνα,  
ἐς ἀνδρῶν μακάρων ὁμίλον τ' ἔπεφνεν  
τε Γοργόνα, καὶ ποικίλον κάρα  
δρακόντων φόβαισιν ἤλνθε νασιώταις  
λίθινον θάνατον φέρων.

<sup>27</sup> S. Aurigemma *Il Real Museo di Spina* (Ferrara 1935) pl. 32 the cup interior, pl. 33. J. Beazley *Attic Red-Fig.* p. 157.

<sup>28</sup> Aristotle *Poet.* 1449a. 13. Vitruvius *De Arch.* 7, Praefat. 11. R. Flickinger *The Greek Theater and its Drama* (Chicago 1918) pp. 66, 228-31. A. Haigh *The Attic Theater 2* (Oxford 1898) p. 250 ff; *The Tragic Drama* pp. 68, 142. G. Richter *Attic Red-Fig. Vases*, p. 90. C. Anti *Teatri Greci Archaici* (Padua 1947) p. 289 ff.

In contrast the *12th Ode* is replete with references to the events of the myth that formed the subject matter of at least three plays of the Aeschylean tetralogy, namely, the hero's golden conception, the Phorkides episode, and Danae's enforced wedlock to Polydektes which ended in that king's death. Since this complex series of events is compressed into a few lines, we can infer from Pindar's terse references that he was citing material already so thoroughly familiar to his audience that the mere mention of a name was enough to evoke a whole episode.

Simonides, too, used the Danae theme. That poet of Keos, who defeated Aeschylos in 489 B.C. in competition for a prize elegy on the Marathon slain, was in Athens in the period under discussion. If the Aeschylean tetralogy was composed as early as the period the three vase paintings suggest, Simonides may well have witnessed the production and been so moved that he composed as a "companion-piece" his wondrously tender lament of Danae adrift in the chest at sea:<sup>31</sup>

"Οτε λάρνακι δ' ἐν δαυδαλέῳ ἀνέμος πέσεν  
πνέων κινήθεισά τε λίμνα,  
δείματι ἤριπεν οὐτ' ἀδιάνταισι παρειαῖς  
ἀμφί τε Περσεΐ βάλλε φίλαν χέρα  
εἰπέ τε ὦ τέκος, οἷον ἔχω πόνον·  
σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γαλαθηνῶ  
στήθει κνώσσεις ἐν ἀτερπεῖ  
δώματι χαλκεογόμφῳ, νυκτιλαμπῇ  
κνανέῳ τε δνόφῳ ταθείς.  
Λυαλέαν δ' ὑπερθε τιῶν  
κόμαν βαθεῖαν παριόντος  
κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις,  
οὐδ' ἀνέμου φθόγγων,  
κείμενος ἐν πορφυρέῳ χλανίδι, πρόσσωπον καλόν.  
Εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν,  
καὶ κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων λεπτὸν ὑπέιχες οὔας.

Κέλομ', εἶδε βρέφος,  
εἰδέτω δὲ πόντος,  
εἰδέτω ἄμετρον κακόν.  
Μεταβολία δέ τις φανείη,  
Ζεὺ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο·

"Οττι δὲ θαρσαλέον ἔπος εὔχομαι,  
τεκνόφι δίκαν σύγγνωθί μοι.

In his poem Simonides has brought to artistic fulfillment a scene which could never have appeared on the stage. But from its loveliness we seem to regain the quality of a choral ode from the lost drama.

We can only conclude that the themes evolving about the Perseus-Gorgon myth, particularly the Danae episode, seemed around the year 490 B.C. to be charged with a new spirit of dramatic mobility and meaning. Pindar was inspired by it, as was Simonides. Three vase painters chose to depict an identical scene from it with similarities of detail that could not have been accidentally and individually conceived. Moreover, all three artists were equally determined to convey the same single mood of dramatic intensity. One can readily believe, therefore, that these three painters at least, if not the poets, were in the audience of many thousands of religious observers that witnessed the Perseus tetralogy by Aeschylos, and that their paintings clearly indicate the theme of the missing fourth drama.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Pindar *Pyth. 12th*, lines 9-31, ed. O. Schroeder *Pindari Carmina* (Leipzig 1908).

<sup>30</sup> Pindar *Pyth. 10th*, lines 46-53, 68-75, ed. O. Schroeder *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29).

<sup>31</sup> Simonides of Keos: Dionys. Hal. *Comp.* 26. Fr. 27 (Bergk 37) ed. F. Schneidewin (Brunswick 1835) p. 67.

<sup>32</sup> G. Norwood *Greek Tragedy* (London 1920) p. 50, n. 1. Plato *Symposium* 175E.

This paper was presented at a session of the General Meeting of The Archaeological Institute held in Cleveland, December 1952. See p. 109.



## THE ARAPIDES OINOCHOE<sup>1</sup>

CHRYSOULA KARDARA

PLATES 77-79

THE oinochoe illustrated in plate 77 is in the National Museum in Athens. It bears the inventory number 12717 and was presented to the Museum by a certain Arapides at the end of the last century together with twenty other pieces, of which sixteen, nos. 12708-12724, are Rhodian, Attic, and Corinthian vases and four, nos. 12725-12728, are plastic vases. All of these vases were said to have been found in Rhodes. For some reason our oinochoe was not catalogued by Collignon and Couve or by Nicole, but it is a better representative of Rhodian pottery than any of the few pieces in their catalogues, and indeed is the best representative now in the Museum. It has an unusual feature in that the decoration was shared between two painters.

Except for some damage at the base, the oinochoe is unbroken. The height is 0.29 m., the maximum diameter 0.215 m., the diameter of base 0.095 m., and the largest diameter of mouth 0.15 m.<sup>2</sup>

The clay is pink, has a little mica and grit, and is coated with a slip shading from pinkish to buff-yellow. The varnish applied ranges from black to brown or brown to dark red, a

difference due to unequal firing. Red is used to emphasize certain details of the flowers and figures of the animals and birds.

The handle is in three reeds, rises above the lip *ca.* 0.04 m., and has two small discs of clay attached on either side of its junction to the lip.<sup>3</sup> There is a thin ring of clay around the lower limit of the neck, another similar ring around the upper limit of the neck, and a large strip of clay, slightly broken off, around the bottom to mark the base.

In good preservation, though the varnish at some points has flaked off, the decoration is charming and elegant. The main decoration is composed of three large superimposed zones: one at the bottom, a second on the belly, and a third on the shoulder. The three zones show three different compositions. The lowest has a series of five lotus flowers and five lotus buds in alternation, joined to one another by large single or double arcs and having calyxes composed of two exterior and three interior petals in outlined silhouette in the case of the flowers, by two joined half petals in outlined silhouette in the case of the buds. In the second zone the composition is processional. It shows six goats

<sup>1</sup> To Mrs. Semni C. Karouzou I am greatly indebted for permission to study and publish the oinochoe; to Professor Franklin P. Johnson for his criticism; and to Mr. A. Kontopoulos for his watercolor drawings. The photographs were made by G. Tsimas.

<sup>2</sup> The type of form could be called tapering to be distinguished from other types (elongated, ovoid, flat-bottomed, flat-bottomed-squat). This type shows affinities with Early Cretan, *Annuario* X-XII (1927-1929) 129 fig. 112, and Corinthian forms of the Transitional period, H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 13 no. 4; cf. p. 30, fig. 10, C.

<sup>3</sup> These must have originated as imitations of metal

work, *Jdl* XLIV (1929) 199-223. See also handles on a bronze casket in *Clara Rhodos* VIII, 178, fig. 167. Such handles with an additional support extending vertically from the middle of the spool are common on bronze lebetes which I saw in the Museum of Herakleion in Crete. According to Mr. Platon's kind information, these handles come from the Idaion cave and date in the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C. Imitations of their scheme in clay occur in large Cretan vessels, Doro Levi, *Annuario loc. cit.* 75, fig. 52; also 386, fig. 497, and it is possible that the idea of imitation originated with Cretan potters.

moving to the right, five apparently browsing. In the third zone it is antithetical, though not strictly symmetrical. Opposite the handle there is a small lotus flower. In each part of the zone so divided there is a deer moving toward the handle and preceded by one water bird in one part, by two water birds in the other; behind each deer is a water bird turned toward the central lotus. Animals as well as birds are set against a background enlivened with hanging or standing triangles, hanging roundels, series of dots surrounding concentric circles, petals around a circle, swastikas, and a variety of cross patterns. The base of the oinochoe and a slight portion of the adjacent body are in solid dark color. In solid dark color are also the small bands which separate the three zones from one another. On the front and sides of the neck there is a guilloche. Below the neck there is a tongue pattern. The back of the neck and the lip are painted in solid dark color. The reeds of the handle are decorated with parallel oblique strokes, and the two small discs with four heart-shaped blobs placed in the quarterings of a wheel pattern.

Beautiful in shape and charming in decoration, this oinochoe is not important for its artistic qualities only. Its significance lies in the fact that it is an exception to the custom of Rhodian vases by which animals of one type on one vase are as closely similar as possible to one another. Of the six goats in the main zone three, which are together, follow a certain manner (pl. 77, fig. 2 and pl. 79, fig. 5a). The eye is formed by two tangent arcs and a dot; the neck is separated from the head by a reserved area; the horn has few projections, of distinctly triangular form; the tail is in solid color; the belly stripe is continuous; the legs are relatively sturdy. The countenances express earthy sophistication, and the animals stride with grim determination, as though tracking down a quarry rather than cropping the unresisting grass. The other three goats in the same zone (pl. 78, fig. 3 and pl. 79, fig. 5b) are distinctly different; utmost innocence appears in their faces, and they mince along on pipestem legs; the left foreleg is particularly ineffectual. The eye consists of a dotted circle with two short lines opposite each other; the neck meets the head without any intervening reserved area;

two small lines, one below the horn and the other at the back of the lower jaw, suggest curls; the horn has an undulating profile; the tail is reserved; the belly stripe is indented near the left hindleg.

Unquestionably the two groups of goats were painted by different men. It is clear also that the goats first described were painted first; the foremost of the second group was painted last of all, being crowded into the small space then remaining; and where its foreleg crosses the hindleg of the goat in front it can be seen that the foreleg was painted later. The first painter apparently planned to have only five goats, but the second painter adopted the much commoner number, six. The second painter also supplied the deer in the upper zone, as is evident particularly from the muzzle and the legs; compare most of all the left forelegs in figures 3 and 4 (pl. 78).

It seems possible to distinguish the two hands also in some of the linear patterns. In the main zone the hanging roundels are scalloped in two cases, unscalloped in four; and the hanging triangles are three of one kind and three of another, with a seventh ill-preserved and hence doubtful. The difference in the triangles may possibly be only a matter of scale, determined by the space available, but this explanation will not serve for the roundels. It appears that the first painter drew three unscalloped roundels and the goats beneath them, and then a fourth roundel of the same sort. At that point he relinquished the task, for whatever reason, and the second painter added two scalloped roundels along with three goats. One is tempted to believe that the bold ornaments which appear in front of the first painter's goats, and below the middle one, were made by that painter; they are different enough from the two examples of the same design in the second painter's area of the main zone; but they are hardly distinguishable, in any tangible way, from those in the upper zone, where the scalloped roundels, as well as the deer, indicate the second painter. The floral pattern in the lowest zone would probably be painted after the upper zones, hence by the second painter.

Of the two painters the second seems superior to the first. He shows a style of drawing which is careful, elegant, and delicate. The first



painter, on the contrary, shows figures which are heavy, decorative rather than naturalistic, and which have a touch of tedious monotony as well as haste. His drawing betrays an attempt to economize time as well as effort and in this respect his style seems related to that of oinochoai which are included, in my general study of Rhodian pottery to be published later, under Group B.<sup>4</sup> This branches off from the style of oinochoai included in my study under Group A of the seventh century style<sup>5</sup> and shows tendencies toward hasty drawing and mass production.

The overlapping of the scalloped and unscalloped hanging roundels is one of the oinochoe's interesting features. The latter occurs in general on vases of Group B characterized by the carelessness of technique and the deterioration of drawing which is indicative of industrialization. It is stylistically a sign of lateness, despite earlier contrary theories,<sup>6</sup> but it is not infallible as a chronological criterion. It occurs on oinochoai of Group A. In one Rhodian grave there were found two oinochoai; one of Group A with scalloped roundels, the other of Group B with unscalloped roundels;<sup>7</sup> this indicates that the difference of time in their

manufacture was not considerable. Finally the two types overlap on the Arapides oinochoe.

In Rumpf's list of Rhodian vases this oinochoe is included in group C.<sup>8</sup> Sixteen other oinochoai are placed in the same group. Two of these are fragments (nos. 13 and 17). To this group and to group B, which comprises six pieces, both coming under Rumpf's general heading "Blüte," two more complete vases may be added: British Museum 83.11.24.1; Louvre CA 3038. Also two more fragments: British Museum 1940.3.6.1; Louvre AM 1470.

On the evidence produced by grave groups containing Rhodian as well as mainland pottery the Arapides oinochoe should be placed in the second half of the seventh century B.C. The shape and general style relate it to pieces which were found with seventh century mainland material. These stylistically look early and are ascribed to Group A of the seventh century style.<sup>9</sup> But certain details such as the unscalloped hanging roundels, the degenerated tongue pattern, and the carelessly brushed strokes on the reeds of the handle relate it rather to oinochoai which were also found with seventh century mainland material in grave groups but

<sup>4</sup> Most of the oinochoai which belong to this school are listed in Rumpf's class D, *Jdl* XLVIII (1933) 71. The following features may be recognized on them. On the body there are generally in the lowest zone three lotus flowers alternating with three lotus buds; in the main zone four goats browsing; and on the shoulder an animal or mythological creature on either side of a conventionalized lotus flower at the front, or figures of three animals, birds or mythological creatures, or a garland of lotus flowers and buds in alternation drawn in silhouette. Below the handle there is a comb pattern, a degenerated form of the tongue pattern. On the front and sides of the neck there is either a guilloche or a meander alternating with elaborate squares. The back of the neck and the lip are painted with parallel oblique strokes (see also note 10).

<sup>5</sup> Most of the oinochoai which belong to this Group are listed in Rumpf's groups B and C, *Jdl* XLVIII (1933) 70-71. The following features may be recognized on them. On the body there are generally in the lowest zone five lotus flowers alternating with five lotus buds; in the main zone six goats, occasionally with a dog chasing them; and on the shoulder a conventionalized lotus flower at the front flanked by several animals and fabulous creatures. Below the neck there is a tongue pattern. On the front

and sides of the neck there is a guilloche pattern. The back of the neck and the lip are painted in solid dark color. The middle of the handle reeds is painted with black and reserved squares in alternation and the outer reeds with series of dots; or with parallel oblique lines and dots; or with parallel oblique lines (see also note 9).

<sup>6</sup> F. K. Kinch, *Vroulia* 197 f, 209 f; E. R. Price in *JHS* XLIV (1924) 192-193.

<sup>7</sup> Burial no. XXVIII at Papatiloures, *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII, 99-101, fig. 105. In the funerary chamber were lying the bones of two adults. The two Rhodian oinochoai, however, were found close to one of the skeletons.

<sup>8</sup> Rumpf, *op. cit.* 70, C 6.

<sup>9</sup> No. 13843 found in grave group XI at Papatiloures, *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII, 52; no. 12080 found in grave group III at Makri Langoni, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 47, figs. 13 and 19; no. 13834 found in grave group XXVIII at Papatiloures, *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII, 99, figs. 105 and 107; no. 12067 found in grave group III at Makri Langoni, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 44-46, figs. 13 and 15; no. 12065 found in grave group III at Makri Langoni, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 43, figs. 13 and 14; no. 12164 found in grave group IV at Makri Langoni, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 52, figs. 22 and 24.

which stylistically look like a later stage and are therefore ascribed to Group B.<sup>10</sup> Consequently the vase is not among the early pieces. But it is not among the latest pieces of the seventh century style either.

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<sup>10</sup> No. 13865 found in grave group IV at Papatisloures, *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII, 22, figs. 16 and 17; no. 13749 found in grave group XII at Papatisloures, *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII, 51, figs. 61 and 62; no. 13805 found in grave group XXVII at Papatisloures, *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII, 85, figs. 91, 92, 93, and 95; no. 13806 found in grave group XXVII at Papatisloures, *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII, 85, figs. 91-94; no. 13835 found in grave group XXVIII at Papatisloures, *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII, 99, figs. 105 and 108.

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#### CORRECTION

On page 106 of this volume, line nine from bottom of left-hand column, for "Late Cypriote II" read "Late Cypriote I."

## NEWS LETTER FROM GREECE

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

PLATES 80-82

### ATHENS AND ATTICA

The principal excavations in ATHENS were in the Agora. An account of these has already appeared in this *Journal* (above p. 21) and other reports have appeared in *Archaeology* V (1952) 145, *Hesperia* XXII (1953) 25, and *AA* 1952, 171. On the Acropolis the remodelling of the museum building has continued and the two new underground storerooms which are to receive the objects from the so-called Small Museum have been completed. The reconstruction of the southwest wing of the Propylaea has proceeded slowly.

In the Odeion of Herodes Atticus the seats of the lower half of the auditorium have been either repaired or renewed, the paving of the orchestra and the facing of the stage front having been completed previously. The Odeion is now much used during the summer months for evening concerts and the presentation of ancient plays, and the restoration work has greatly improved the appearance of the building and the accommodations for the spectators.

A discovery of considerable interest was made on the banks of the Ilissos near the King George II Street bridge (formerly Diochares St.: W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*,<sup>2</sup> Plan I, L5). The chance discovery of a head of Serapis led the Ephor of the Acropolis, Mr. Meliades, to excavate the area, and work is still going on. Evidence for the existence of an open air shrine not mentioned by any ancient author was obtained. Part of the peribolos wall was discovered but no other structural or architectural members have yet come to light. Evidence for the shrine consists of a great number of statues and reliefs including a headless statue of a reclining Herakles; the head of a young beardless Herakles, and a headless statue of a seated goddess. Six inscriptions, and about three hundred lamps were found. The reliefs, of which there are about forty, while not remarkable as works of art, are interesting for their variety. Two deities are represented, one with the attributes of Herakles, sometimes bearded, sometimes beardless, the other a bearded seated figure holding a horn of plenty. Three inscriptions tell us the name of the first god, Pankrates, a name

which appears here for the first time. It is no doubt an epithet of Herakles. It is interesting to note that the district of modern Athens which lies just across the Ilissos at this point is called Pankrati, a name now seen to be a survival from antiquity. The second god is shown by an inscription to be Palaimon. Since at least three of the persons who dedicated these reliefs are Sidonians it may be that here was a sanctuary of the Sidonian colony, the relation between Palaimon and Melkart being well known.

Building operations in various parts of the city have led to the discovery of various remains, the most interesting of which is a series of forty-eight graves of the fourth century B.C. on the north side of Piraeus Street (Judeich, Plan I, D2). This is a continuation of the cemetery explored many years ago by Brueckner and Pernice (*AM* [1893] 73).

Outside the eastern breakwater of the main harbor of PIRAEUS by the so-called "Tomb of Themistokles" a poros column whose seven drums were lying on the rocks by the shore has been re-erected. It was probably a lighthouse. A similar column is known to have stood on the opposite side of the entrance.

In the area of the ancient quarries high on the slopes of Mt. PENTELIKON, a few minutes' climb above the great cave, quarrymen came by chance on a sanctuary of the Nymphs. It was in a small natural cave whose roof had collapsed in antiquity. Mr. Papademetriou, by digging in from the top, was able to clear part of the cave proper, but the entrance is still concealed under a great pile of waste stone from the quarries. Among the finds are several votive reliefs of the fourth century B.C., one of which depicts three Nymphs, Hermes, and Pan approached by three men, Telephanes, Nikeratos, and Demophilos who, as we learn from the inscription, had set up this dedication to the Nymphs.

At RAPHINA on the east coast of Attica Mr. Theocharis continued the excavation of the Early Helladic settlement in which he had made successful soundings in 1951 (*Praktika* [1951] 77 ff.). Two bronze-casting pits were discovered near the shore in front of the hotels. They contained masses of bronze fragments and a few bronze objects such as pins

and hooks. There was a great deal of pottery of the Early Helladic period. Three clay funnels used for pouring molten bronze into moulds were found. The remains permit a study of all stages of bronze working, a fact of great importance for this is the earliest metal working establishment yet found in Europe. On the hill above the small harbor of Raphina the settlement contemporary with the bronze working establishment was found. One house was completely excavated and yielded quantities of pottery (pl. 80, fig. 1). Three other houses were partly cleared. The houses are rectangular and separated from one another by narrow alleys. A wall 1.55 m. thick to the west of the houses may be the fortification wall of the settlement.

On the promontory of ASKETARÍO, two kilometers south of Raphina, a survey revealed the presence of another Early Helladic settlement fortified with a thick wall. The plans of several houses could be made out.

At NEA MAKRI, just south of the plain of MARATHON, Mr. Thecharis discovered an extensive settlement of the early Neolithic period.

Near Merenda in the territory of the ancient deme of MYRRHINOUS, about three kilometers southeast of Markopoulo in the Attic midlands, more work was done in the extensive cemetery of the fourth century B.C. which was discovered and partly excavated several years ago. The finds include a large relief with a figure of a bearded man, several smaller reliefs, and a number of sepulchral inscriptions.

At BRAURON the excavation of the large and important basilica of the sixth century A.D. was practically completed by Mr. Stikas. Two columns on the north side of the nave were re-erected with their capitals and epistyle. Five of the six columns of the west façade were also re-erected.

The most important work in ELEUSIS was in the cemetery on the road to Megara. This was first explored in 1950 by Mr. John Travlos who found Mycenaean and Classical graves (*Praktika* [1950] 127-137). Mr. Mylonas continued the work in 1952 finding Middle Helladic and Classical graves. A brief account has already appeared in *Archaeology* V (1952) 249 (titles under pictures are reversed).

#### PELOPONNESUS

No work was done at Corinth, but at the ISTHMIAN SANCTUARY nearby Mr. Broneer discovered the remains of the Temple of Poseidon which had been looked for in vain by several generations of archaeologists. It stood on a levelled area some 400 m. west of the Justinian Fortress, the enclosure formerly identified as the Sanctuary of Poseidon. Almost all the blocks of the temple were broken up and removed to be used in the Justinian fortifica-

tion; portions of the lower two courses of the foundations were found *in situ*. Since the foundation trenches were cut in the rock the plan of the temple is preserved even where all the blocks of the foundation have been removed. The total length as measured by the cuttings for the foundations of the peristyle is over 56 m. and the width a little less than 26 m. Surrounding the temple are the remains of a temenos wall of Roman date enclosing a rectangle 116 m. long and 78 m. wide. Among the many building blocks discovered in the area of the temple is one nearly complete column drum agreeing in appearance and dimensions with the many drums built into the Justinian Fortress. Many blocks from the cella wall, parts of the marble roof, including one complete section of the raking sima, and numerous smaller fragments of the temple were brought to light. Close to the southwest anta of the temple was found the upper half of a colossal female figure, three times life size (pl. 80, fig. 2). The head and arms which were made in separate pieces are missing, but what remains is in excellent condition and very impressive both for its size and the quality of the carving. It is a Roman copy of a fifth century original. What goddess is represented has not been determined with certainty. The statue has been set up in the Corinth museum. A chance discovery of some interest is an inscribed statue base which villagers had recently removed from the Isthmian wall. It records the victories of a certain Themison from Miletos who claimed the distinction of being the first and only one to write music for the plays of Euripides, Sophocles, and Timotheos.

At SICYON Mr. Orlandos cleared the full length of the stoa lying east of the Bouleuterion. It was 105 m. long, had forty-five columns on the façade and twenty-two in the inner row; at the rear was a row of twenty-one shops. Excavations have now advanced to a point where the plan of the city of Hellenistic times is beginning to emerge.

MYCENAE was the scene of great activity, and two expeditions, one under Mr. Papademetriou, the other under Mr. Wace, were at work there. Mr. Wace continued his excavation of former seasons on the saddle west of the Lion Gate, outside the walls of the citadel. Here more graves of the Middle Bronze Age were opened, and a fountain house of Hellenistic times was discovered. The latter appears to be the Perseia Fountain mentioned by Pausanias. It consists of two basins set against a long retaining wall. The larger eastern basin was roofed; the smaller basin at a lower level was unroofed and was perhaps for the use of animals. Farther down the ridge towards the south Mr. Wace did some more digging in a house which he calls the House of the Oil Merchant. The basement walls were well pre-

served, and the level of the first floor three meters above could be determined. In the northern room of the basement a number of large storage jars were found set around the walls, and in the corridor outside were about thirty large stirrup jars. The most important discovery in this house was a series of thirty-nine clay tablets inscribed in "Linear B" script with what appear to be inventories or accounts. With the exception of an isolated fragment found in 1950 these are the first inscribed tablets to be found at Mycenae. It is significant that they were not found in or near the Palace, as the tablets from Knossos and Pylos were, but some distance away in a private house belonging to a wealthy merchant or noble. This indicates that knowledge and use of writing was not confined to the rulers as has sometimes been supposed, but was more general; a stirrup vase with a painted inscription, another of Mr. Wace's 1952 discoveries, provides further evidence on this point. Mr. Wace believes the language to be Greek. Further work was done in the House of the Wine Merchant on the northern side of the ridge. Among the finds here were some large storage jars and a handsome funnel decorated with an octopus. Two well illustrated articles on Mr. Wace's excavations have appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for October 25 and November 1, 1952.

Mr. Papademetriou's work in Mycenae was at the new Grave Circle outside the walls. This had been discovered by chance the previous winter. It lies on the saddle west of the Lion Gate and just west of the beehive "Tomb of Clytemnestra," in the last bend of the modern highway which leads up to the citadel. The Circle is about twenty-seven meters in diameter and is surrounded by a wall 1.55 m. thick, now only partly preserved. Eight shaft graves have been excavated, and others have been located but not yet opened. Some of the graves were richly furnished with clay, bronze, and even gold vases, bronze swords and daggers with gold and ivory handles, an electrum mask and the like. They date from the end of the Middle Helladic period and the very beginning of the late Helladic, i.e. contemporary with and somewhat earlier than the burials in the well-known Grave Circle within the walls. The excavators were able to fix the original ground level and to show that the ground level of Classical times was only slightly higher. It seems therefore that the new Grave Circle was visible in Classical times, and it may be that it was this that was pointed out to Pausanias as the place where Aegisthus and Clytemnestra were buried—"at a little distance from the wall." Illustrated accounts have already appeared in *Archaeology* V (1952) 194-200, and the *Illustrated London News* for September 27, 1952.

After an interval of many years the French School

has resumed excavation in the town of Argos. Work was concentrated in two areas, the Agora and the Cemeteries. In the Agora, which lies near the Theatre and just east of the Argos-Tripolis road, a building of Greek times had been partially uncovered together with a long east-west Stoa abutting on it. The south and west sides of the building of Greek times were completely excavated revealing its plan which was a square 36.60 m. on the side with a roof resting on sixteen interior supports. The building was therefore not a temple as had been thought but a hypostyle hall, perhaps a bouleuterion. The style of the architectural members points to a date in the first half of the fifth century B.C. Fragments of several monuments whose location is not yet known were found, in particular a large altar of the fifth century with triglyph and metope frieze and a poros monument on which the original colors are still quite fresh: blue on the triglyphs, red on the guttae, white stucco on the metopes. The poros monument also dates from the fifth century. Among the inscriptions found in the Agora we may note a proxyen decree perhaps of the third century B.C. honoring Agathokles, son of Nikostratos, an Athenian, and another of the fifth century B.C. inscribed on a bronze plaque honoring an otherwise unknown citizen of the Laconian town of Oinous, *Ἰνέουρας* *φαιδρίτιος*.

GEOMETRIC CEMETERY. West of the modern cemetery several burials (four pithos burials and a grave) were discovered by chance by some workmen engaged in terracing operations and were partly robbed by them. The grave, however, still contained six iron obeloi, a bronze cup, and several vases and fragments of Argive geometric style dating from the second half of the eighth century. Trial excavations in the area revealed the existence of a large cemetery. One especially rich grave contained twenty-seven vases including three of bronze, an iron sword, and some bronze jewelry. There were two skeletons, one buried after the other. The pottery runs from the ninth to the end of the eighth century. Another grave had fifteen vases of the second half of the ninth century, a ring, and a bronze cup; there were three skeletons in this grave. In another trial pit just south of the preceding one was discovered a small archaic pithos on which had been placed an Attic cup of the end of the sixth century and an Argive black figured cup with dancing satyrs. An identical cup was found inside the pithos along with several other small vases of late Corinthian II. From a trial pit south of the cemetery, which yielded chiefly Hellenistic sherds, came the most striking ceramic find of the season, a magnificent fragment of an early Argive krater dating from about 650 B.C. showing Polyphemos being blinded by the com



panions of Odysseus (pl. 80, fig. 3). The krater is of monumental size and its diameter is estimated at 0.42 m. A wall of fourth century polygonal masonry discovered at several points seems to be the city wall on the south side of the town.

**Lerna.** Mr. Caskey conducted a trial excavation on the prehistoric mound beside the village of Myloi on the coast just ten kilometers south of Argos and next to the Lernaean Spring. Four trenches were dug revealing a well-stratified deposit some 5 m. deep. Although sherds of later periods had been found on the surface, the topmost undisturbed deposit proved to be of the Middle Helladic period. Four or five strata of this period were observed, and below them three or four of the Early Helladic period. In one trench a deep deposit containing Neolithic wares appeared. An illustrated article is to appear shortly in *Archaeology*.

Mr. Blegen resumed excavation at Epano Englianos in Western Messenia where he had done one season's work in 1939. The megaron of a Mycenaean palace comparable in size and decoration to those of Mycenae and Tiryns was found, leaving little doubt that this was the principal center of Mycenaean culture in the area and is to be identified as the PYLOS of King Nestor. Several hundred more tablets inscribed in Linear B script were found. An illustrated account has appeared in *Archaeology* V (1952) 130 and in *AJA* 57 (1953) 59-64. Mr. Marinatos, collaborating with Mr. Blegen, excavated a number of Mycenaean tombs in the neighborhood.

Under the direction of Mr. Emil Kunze the German Institute resumed excavations in OLYMPIA for the first time since the war. Work was concentrated in the Stadium and in the area of the Echo Colonnade. The investigation of the Early Classical Stadium (II) under the Echo Colonnade was completed. The positions of the northern and southern limits of the track and of the starting line were fixed beyond any doubt, and the results obtained in 1942 and published in brief preliminary form in *AJA* 52 (1948) 492 ff., fig. 1 were thus confirmed. All the main features of the Early Classical Stadium which extended deeply into the Altis and whose track was open to the sanctuary are now clear. It is the earliest Greek stadium of which we have detailed knowledge and we see from its plan how closely the Olympic games were connected with the cult in Classical times. It was not until shortly after the middle of the fourth century that the Stadium was shifted a little to the east and north and separated from the Altis by an embankment and retaining wall (Stadium III), and that the east side of the Altis received architectural embellishment, namely the Echo Colonnade which faces the temple of Zeus.

The remaining ancient fill of the west embank-

ment of the Late Classical Stadium (III) was almost entirely removed. The track of Stadium III, over which earth lies to a depth of five or six meters, was cleared for a distance of 12.50 m. from the western starting line. The earth from here was used to remake the previously excavated south embankment, and thus the first step was taken in the reconstruction of the Olympic Stadium as it was in the fourth century B.C.

The western embankment of the Stadium again yielded many important finds. A disk-akroterion, mid-sixth century, of which enough fragments were found to permit reconstruction, is unique both technically and in its rich palmette decoration. It is quite different from the well-known series of Laconian disk-akroteria. A beautifully preserved archaic bronze statuette of a Laconian youth wearing a Thyreatic wreath (Athenaeus XV 678 b) on his head dates from the third quarter of the sixth century and may be associated stylistically with the well-known bronze head in Boston (Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 53).

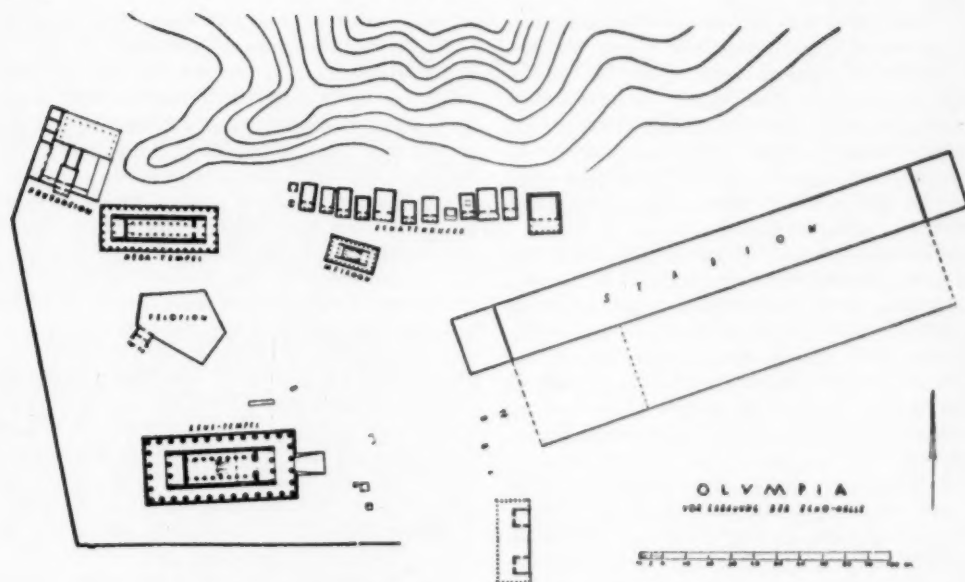
Absolutely unique is the bronze sheathing for the head of a battering ram (pl. 80, fig. 4). It is decorated with rams' heads in relief and may be dated on grounds of style in the fifth century B.C. which shows that the Greeks were familiar with this weapon at an earlier date than had previously been supposed. It was probably part of a dedication of war booty.

Many new fragments of large-scale terracotta sculpture of late archaic and early classical times were found, among which may be mentioned the leg of a running Nike from an akroterion and fragments of a large combat group. The right foot and left leg of the Zeus in the Zeus and Ganymede group were found and have been attached giving the full height of the figure (1.10 m.). The head of Ganymede, found in 1942, has also been attached (pl. 81, fig. 5). The group is probably not an akroterion as was formerly supposed but an independent offering. It is now on exhibit in the Museum.

A fragment of an inscribed bronze plaque contains part of an epigram celebrating the victories of Ergoteles in whose honor Pindar's twelfth Olympian ode was written and whose career is sketched for us by Pausanias who must have drawn part of his information from this very plaque (VI, 4, 11).

The Hermes of Praxiteles is again on exhibit.

Professor Dontas has published in the *Praktika* of the Academy of Athens for 1952 p. 90 an account of his exploration of HELIKE, the Achaean city which was overwhelmed by an earthquake and tidal wave in the early fourth century B.C. Using the ship Alkyoni, which is equipped with an echo sounding device, he was able to trace the ancient coast line, submerged river valleys and some great chasms presumably opened at the time of the earthquake. He



OLYMPIA BEFORE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ECHO COLONNADE

publishes a chart of the area. The site of the town may be fixed with some assurance between the rivers Selinous and Kerynitis about one kilometer from the present coast line and two from the ancient. It lies at an average depth of 30 meters and is covered with a thick layer of black mud.

At GORTYS in Arcadia the French School worked chiefly at uncovering the large building of which one circular room was excavated in 1951. It proves to be a bath; seven rooms have now been cleared, and there are underground conduits of brick for the circulation of the hot air. The excavators suggest a date in the second century B.C. which makes the building the earliest of its kind in Greece. Its plan is quite different from the plan of a Roman bath. Two large hoards of coins, each with over five thousand pieces, were found; they date from the late third to early fourth century A.D.

#### CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

There was no new excavation at DELPHI, but some progress was made with the rehabilitation of the museum. The sculpture has been brought from the basement and all but a few pieces are now set up.

At NICOPOLIS a chance discovery was made as a result of a rain storm: a marble statue of a young girl about two-thirds life size (pl. 82, fig. 6). It was a grave monument and stood in a niche, for the back has been left unfinished. The date may be the first century A.D. The statue is now in the local museum.

At KASSOPE in the Preveza district Mr. Dakaris continued the excavation of a large building which he had found the year before. It is nearly square, about 30 by 33 meters, and is built around a central court. Facing in on the court from all four sides are stoas with twenty-six eight-sided columns (8 x 7). Back of the stoas are eighteen rooms, including one on the south side which is used as an entrance. Hearths and stone bases for tables were found in all the rooms. A gutter which runs around the court collects rain water and conducts it to a large cistern. In the court was found an inscribed base which once carried a dedication to Aphrodite set up by four generals and the secretary of the city (second century B.C.). An upper storey is proved for the west and north sides and is probable at the east. The building may be dated in the late fifth or early fourth century B.C. on the basis of the roof tiles that have been found. Because of its position in the Agora, and its interior arrangement and furnishings, Mr. Dakaris thinks the building may be the Prytaneion or the Katagogion of the city.

Mr. Evangelides continued his excavation at DODONA. Among the finds were a bronze statuette of Zeus from a Laconian workshop dating from about 530 B.C., the handle of a bronze bowl with a ram's head at either end and on the handle itself two lizards one biting the throat of the other (sixth century B.C.), and a silver statuette of Zeus with a thunderbolt cut from a sheet of metal (fifth century

B.C.). Thirty-three lead plaques inscribed with questions submitted to the oracle were found. On one "the city of the Chaones" asks whether to build a temple to Athena. Another contains the god's answer to a question about a slave; plaques with replies are much less frequently found than ones with questions.

At KASTRITSA near Ioannina Mr. Dakaris continued his work of the previous season and excavated a stratified prehistoric deposit.

Mr. Verdelis excavated more classical graves on the outskirts of PHARSALOS and investigated further the large tumulus in which the Exekias krater was found the previous year. He also excavated some Middle Helladic and Mycenaean tombs near PRILEON.

The mosaics in the Church of St. George in SALONICA were cleaned. In the process of cleaning, certain small areas of mosaic not previously known were revealed.

The Salonica newspaper "Phos" on March 9, 1952, reported the discovery of two inscriptions and some other ancient remains at the village of Metallikon near Kilkis. One of the inscriptions was a base for statues of the emperor Hadrian and his wife Sabina set up by the city of BRAGYLAE. This little-known central Macedonian city can now for the first time be located exactly thanks to the newly discovered base. The second inscription was too badly damaged to yield any sense.

#### ISLANDS

In THASOS the French School concentrated on the completion of the clearance of the Agora, particularly the southwest part where much remained to be done. A number of altars, monument bases, and exedras came to light. The back wall of the North Stoa was uncovered for most of its length; many architectural members of this Stoa were found. Some work was also done in the cemeteries. Outside the Gate of Zeus some trenches confirmed the existence of an avenue of Roman times lined with large sarcophagi.

In SAMOTHRACE excavation of the central area of the sanctuary of the Great Gods continued under the direction of Mr. Karl Lehmann. The Altar Court, partly excavated in 1951 (*Hesperia* XXII [1953] 16-22), was fully explored. Its dedication by Arrhidaios, Alexander the Great's half-brother and successor, indicated by a previously discovered fragment of the dedicatory inscription, was confirmed by finds made in the inner fill of the structure which point to a date in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. A new fragment belonging to the end of the inscription was found on another architrave block. The building faced west and, while enclosed on the three other sides by marble walls, it was open on this side, having a colonnade of four Doric

columns between lateral spur walls. The Doric entablature over these columns continued around the entire structure. The interior was an unroofed "court" in which a marble stairway as wide as the court led up to a monumental sacrificial altar in the background. Thus this structure is definitely a forerunner of the Great Altar of Pergamon.

The cavea of the theatre on the hillside opposite the Altar Court was cleared. Very few seat blocks were found, but it was possible to trace the lower edge of the cavea in rock cuttings. However, the entire area in which one would expect an orchestra and skene was devoid of any traces of structures or fills and occupied by rocks and gravel from the river bed which crosses it obliquely. Probably a temporary wooden orchestra was built each summer for the annual festival, at a time of year (July) when even in antiquity the now entirely dry stream bed had but little water. The façade of the Altar Court, though oblique to the theatre, served as a sort of monumental background; the relationship may be seen on the plan, *Hesperia* XXII (1953) pl. 9.

A pit that had been filled in the late fifth century B.C. yielded numerous fragments of carefully incised graffiti, mostly on the lips of kylixes and evidently dedicatory in character. The language is not Greek, a fact of some interest for Diodorus tells us that a foreign language was still used in the liturgy of the Samothracian cult in his time. A few similar graffiti had been found in previous campaigns (cf. *Hesperia* XXII [1953] 6-7).

A group of Italian archaeologists returned to LEMNOS for the second successive year to work at POLIOCHNI with a view to preparing the publication. Several small pits were sunk to check the stratification in this great prehistoric city the earliest of whose three principal periods seems to antedate the first city of Troy. Several hundred vases were made up either wholly or in part from the fragments gathered in previous years. They are now on exhibit in a villa which is to serve as the local museum in the town of Kastro, the capital of the island. An account of the state of the excavations and of the work done in Lemnos in 1951 has recently appeared in *Bollettino d'Arte* for 1952 signed by Mr. Doro Levi.

The same article reports on the work done by the Italian School at PHAISTOS in Crete in 1951, work which was continued in 1952 with important results for the earlier history of the palace.

#### AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

*Note:* The above account is based chiefly but not exclusively on notes supplied by the persons or organizations conducting the excavations. I would express my thanks to all who have helped me.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings.** VII. Nubia, The Deserts, and Outside Egypt. By the late Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss; assisted by Ethel W. Burney. Pp. xxxvi + 453, plans, 7 maps. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1951. \$17.00.

Probably no other field of archaeology is bibliographically so well documented as ancient Egypt, thanks to the *Topographical Bibliography* compiled at the Griffith Institute in Oxford. The volume under review is the seventh of the series and, for the time being, brings to an end this vast undertaking, the scheme of which had been conceived more than fifty years ago. This plan called for the recording of publications as well as of unpublished copies of inscribed monuments, thus listing not only the printed material, but also the large body of manuscripts and drawings of the early travelers whose useful work, especially with regard to monuments which have perished in recent times, would otherwise have lain buried in attics and archives, thus depriving us of much needed information.

In the present volume the initial project has been most happily enlarged to include certain unpublished pieces which are no longer in situ and to record their present location. The book has nearly 200 pages and several thousand references more than the previous volume published in 1939. It begins with the region south of the First Cataract and follows the Nile to Khartoum (pp. 1-273). It then deals with the Western Desert and the Oases (pp. 274-317) and with the Eastern Desert (pp. 318-339). The following chapter comprises the Sinai Peninsula (pp. 339-366), and North Africa, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Iraq, and Iran (pp. 367-398). Since much archaeological material of Egyptian workmanship has been found outside the Nile valley, these as well as the subsequent pages are of special interest. The entries reflect not only the wide range of Egyptian influence or outright domination, but also point out how far Egyptian cults, and the appreciation of things Egyptian, reached during the Greco-Roman period. Here the editors have mostly confined themselves to objects which were displaced before the end of the Roman Empire.

The finds from Turkey, Russia, Greece, the Mediterranean islands, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Austria are listed on pages 398-407. Then follow the important monuments re-excavated on Italian soil (pp.

407-419), and this chapter ends with France, Spain, and England (where one might add the Ptolemaic statue from Middlesex, published in *The Antiquaries Journal* 15 [1935], pl. LIV, cf. p. 354).

The book contains numerous plans and, at the end, seven maps as well as ample indices which list Egyptian royal names, Kushite names, Egyptian private names, names of deities, and geographical names. There is, however, no index by collections, and thus, without knowing the provenance of a particular monument, one often has difficulty in locating it in the *Topographical Bibliography*. The editors are now engaged in compiling the appendices to the volumes already published, and it is hoped that eventually they will present us also with a complete index volume for the whole series without which its riches cannot be fully utilized.

In future editions one might also wish for an indication of the dates of the various books and articles cited. The editors have followed as much as possible the style originally adopted; yet, in view of the growth of Egyptological literature, the frequent omission of publication dates makes it sometimes hard to evaluate the usefulness of sources listed for a particular monument, especially when one is referred to out-of-the-way periodicals. But these are only minor suggestions for possible improvements; the work as it stands is an achievement of primary importance and greatly augments the tools available in archaeological and philological research, and the editors' knowledge, patience, and painstaking labor have resulted in a bibliographical masterpiece. Furthermore, the production of the book is a model of fine Oxford craftsmanship.

BERNARD V. BOTHMER

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

*Anatolian Studies*, Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, London 1951—.

*Orientalia Suecana*, Uppsala 1952—.

Since the suspension of the Archaeological Bibliography of Current Periodical Literature in this journal, the last installment of which appeared in *AJA* 56 (1952) pp. 69-82, two new journals in the field of oriental studies have published their first issues, and we take great pleasure in welcoming them and wishing them every success.

Of *Anatolian Studies* two issues have so far appeared. Volume I (1951) includes a summary of



archaeological research in Turkey, 1949-50, excavation reports on Polatli by Seton Lloyd and Nuri Göke and Tabara el Akrad by Sinclair Hood, two stratified sites which contribute valuable new information on phases of Anatolian and Syrian archaeology, and an article on Harran by Seton Lloyd and William Brice. Volume II (1952) includes a similar summary of archaeological research in Turkey for the preceding year, a summary-index of the Sultantepe tablets with excerpts from important texts, by O. R. Gurney, "Studies in Medieval Harran I" by D. S. Rice, and "Anazarbus" by Michael Gough. Address: The British School of Archaeology at Ankara, 56 Queen Street, London, W. 1. The price for each issue is £1 12s 6d.

*Orientalia Suecana* is edited by Erik Gren (to whom correspondence should be addressed at Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala, Sweden), and is a further indication of the large rôle Sweden has come to assume in Near Eastern archaeology and oriental studies. Four issues are announced for each year, of which the first two double issues of Volume I (1952), 1/2 and 3/4 have appeared. The contributions are in English, French, and German, and include "Pasah-Maşşôt and the Problem of 'Patternism' I" by Ivan Engnell; "On the Wall Painting from Court 106 of the Palace of Mari" by Alfred Haldar; "Miniatures from the Reign of Bâyezid II in a Manuscript Belonging to Uppsala University Library" by Carl Johan Lamm; "Buntkeramik in Anatolien" by Hans Henning von der Osten; "The *prw* as Vintagers in Egypt" by T. Sive-Söderbergh; "Xosrau Anōšurvān, les Hephthalites et les peuples turcs" by Geo. Widengren, and "Mitra en vieux-perse" by Stig Wikander.

The high standard of printing and illustration in both journals will be greatly appreciated. Abbreviations suggested for addition to the list in *AJA* 56 (1952) p. 1 ff. are respectively *AnatS* and *OSu*.

WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

**The Hittites**, by O. R. Gurney. Pp. xv + 240, figs. 19, pls. 32. Pelican Books A 259. Penguin Books, London 1952. Three shillings six pence.

This new volume, part of Mallowan's Pelican series of Near Eastern and Western Asiatic archaeologies, is an introduction to the history, organization, and achievements of the Hittites. No such work existed in English, and it is the student's and the general public's good luck that the gap is filled by a competent volume in a popular edition. The author, O. R. Gurney, is a Hittitologist whose training and

preferences are philological. He presents his material in a clear, unpretentious, and instructive manner, and gives a detailed account of the various categories of information derived from the Hittite archives. The story is concerned mostly with the second millennium Hittites, and little with the neo-Hittite city-states, but this emphasis is justified by the aims of the present volume, which is a general cultural history and not an archaeological or art-historical survey.

The only criticisms to be raised are in the latter field: one wishes the archaeological point of view had been given more attention. A reference to tangible destruction levels would have been appropriate in connection with the Assyrian colonies (p. 20). S. Smith's interpretation of Al Mina might have been quoted as a hypothesis rather than as established history (p. 45). The treatment of the Ahhiyava question is sensible and cautious, except for undue promotion given a younger Minos on Crete (p. 55) and startling speculations on Troy VI and (Schachermeyr's?) Poseidon (p. 58). The most serious lapses in the chapter on art are the erroneous statements about pottery (p. 196 and the ill-concealed pl. 23). Özgüç's pioneer work at Kültepe is neglected here and in the bibliography (in spite of pl. 24). Also lacking on the list are the proper excavation reports of Boğazköy, Alaca Hüyük, and Karahüyük near Elbistan.

These criticisms are listed here in the hope that they can soon be remedied by additions and corrections in a new edition of the book, which editor, author, and Hittites fully deserve.

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

**Enkomi-Alasia. Nouvelles missions en Chypre, 1946-1950.** By Claude F. A. Schaeffer (Publications de la mission archéologique française et de la mission du gouvernement de Chypre à Enkomi, vol. 1). Pp. ix + 448, figs. 140, frontispiece, pls. 4 + 116. Librairie C. Klincksieck, Paris 1952.

Following close upon M. Schaeffer's encyclopedic study, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale* (1948), and his discussion of various objects found at Ras Shamra in *Ugaritica II* (1949), comes this extensive volume on *Enkomi-Alasia* (1952). One can only marvel at the immense amount of work involved in these productions and be correspondingly grateful to the author for the speed with which he makes his discoveries available.

The present volume presents the results of ex-



cavations begun by M. Schaeffer in 1934 at Enkomi in Cyprus, his campaigns there in 1946 and 1947, and the results of the research of the French Archaeological Mission and Cyprus Joint Expedition to Enkomi in 1949-50.

In a preliminary note M. Dussaud presents evidence for the identification of Enkomi with Alasia of the Amarna letters and other texts. It was an important seat of the copper industry, exporting the metal to Egypt, the Syrian coast, especially Ugarit, and Asia Minor. Copper ingots with Cypriote writing were transported over the Mediterranean by sailors from Alasia in the second millennium. The name Alasia was long attached to the territory in the name of the divinity Apollo Alasiotas after the town had disappeared. A bronze statue of a horned god discovered at Enkomi may represent this divinity, who was the great god worshipped there, corresponding to Zeus in Greece. It appears that Alasia is Cyprus or some part of the island and not N. Syria as proposed in *PEFQ* 1950 (pp. 40-42).

Enkomi was a walled town with double walls, the outer one of enormous ashlar blocks, some 11 feet long and 7 feet high, estimated to weigh 15 tons; the inner face of less heavy stones with rubble between the two. Towers and gates were disclosed. A similar wall, dated in the thirteenth century, has been found at nearby Sinda (*AJA* 1948, p. 53).

Three levels have been distinguished at Enkomi, all with tombs—some family vaults—beneath the ground floor of the houses: (I) Middle Bronze (1900-1600); (II) Late Bronze (1550-1225), including the Close Style and Mycenaean coming from Rhodes; (III) Iron Age I (1200-1050 B.C.), separated by an ash layer from the earlier level. Similarly, a destruction level separates the earlier level from the second in some places.

Incomplete excavations at Enkomi reveal two important periods of occupation, one in the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries marked by the presence of Achaean Greeks and the twelfth-eleventh century stage dominated by the Sea Peoples. The picture given is as follows: To the Mycenaean period belongs a Palace (building 18), traced mostly in various soundings, with one rectangular inner court and the main rooms built against the walls. The building had large windows and four entrances. It bears resemblances to Minoan structures in the cutting of the stones, to Mycenaean megara, and to the Grave Circle at Mycenae in the double walls. It was in use between 1350-1250 B.C. and was inhabited by Achaeans. Toward the end of its existence (ca. 1225 to ca. 1175) it was occupied by different Greeks coming probably from Rhodes and using Close Style pottery. After this the building was destroyed

by fire by the Sea Peoples who built small houses and bronze foundries within the walls still standing. From 1200-1050 pottery was wholly Submycenaean in style and was accompanied by iron tools and weapons. After 1150 Granary ware was imported and imitated. From 1150-1100 doors and windows of the structure were walled up. Gravel and sand deposits, sometimes nearly three feet deep, indicate floods and a change in climate. An earthquake around 1100 B.C., apparent also at nearby Sinda and at Curium, destroyed the houses of level II, which were promptly rebuilt. Granary ware became dominant. Some incipient danger soon caused the inhabitants to leave their valuables, which were found under the topmost floor (I) of ca. 1100 B.C. The town was destroyed about that time and not again reoccupied.

Emphasis has been placed on the Sea Peoples of Iron Age I and their role in the Mediterranean from 1200-1050. A new type of rectangular tomb with different (north-south) orientation appeared with them. It is suggested that the Submycenaean pottery was used by them; that the bronze foundries and copper mines were especially active at this time; that the long rectangular copper ingots with lengthened corners and Cypro-Mycenaean writing were spread by the Sea Peoples among whom were the well-known metal-workers, the Philistines. A hoard of bronzes of the time contains an adze-axe found also in metal regions in prehistoric Europe and associated with miners. A shepherd's crook or scepter, occurring also at Sinda, marked the hoard. Dome-shaped seals, new at this time and mostly of steatite, belonged to the Sea Peoples. One found by Dikaios is said to show a figure wearing a feather headdress like that of the Philistines on Medinet Habu reliefs, and the warrior with an axe on the ivory box from Enkomi. Six prism seals are associated by Schaeffer with the Sea Peoples. These depict bearded figures in procession wearing a high conical headdress and long robes. They are separated by fanlike trees or branches. Other figures, similarly garbed, are shooting arrows at bulls. They are considered the product of Cypriote engravers influenced by Syro-Palestinian glyptic art. These figures certainly resemble Asiatics in their profiles, beards, and costumes. The cylinder seal represents a tradition inherited from the Bronze Age and is thought to reveal contact with the Mycenaean epoch, whereas the domed seal indicates an abrupt break with the past. The numerous domed seals with their crude geometricized figures of animals and human beings would seem to be good candidates for use by the Sea Peoples. Graffiti on stone blocks represent the long low sailboat of the Sea Peoples as seen on Medinet Habu reliefs; a second example shows a warrior in a chariot with

six-spoked wheels possibly attacking a fortress. The military character of the people is illustrated in these engravings.

Many problems are raised by the excavations. Enkomi is considered a Mycenaean colony. Like Ugarit on the Syrian coast opposite, it probably began as one of the numerous trading emporia established by the Greeks. Colonization at Enkomi may have occurred by the early twelfth century. Tombs built under the houses are not typical of the Mycenaean Greeks, nor do they show Minoan influence. The type is eastern and was planned when the house was built. The few typical Mycenaean tombs in the island would seem to indicate that Greek impact changed prevailing customs little. That Mycenaeans made use of some of these subterranean tombs at Enkomi is apparent. Intact tombs are claimed for all periods but there seems to be some difference of opinion on this point.

The occupation of building 18 around 1225-1200 to 1175 by Greeks from Rhodes who used Close Style pottery appears somewhat elusive. The Mycenaean pottery from the site published by Coche de la Ferté (*Essai de classification de la céramique mycénienne d'Enkomi*, Paris, 1951) gives an interesting account of the Close Style and its contamination by Philistine influence. One of the important results of the excavation is the material presented for the evolution of the Close, Philistine, and Granary Styles. Similar material from Sinda, shortly to be published in *Opuscula Archaeologica* by Furumark, will probably illuminate Philistine pottery, its origin and evolution.

*Enkomi-Alasia* has produced many important Mycenaean remains. Among the finest is a beautiful silver cup with wish-bone handle incrustated with gold and niello and decorated with bucrania and bell-shaped flowers. It resembles, but is superior to, one found at Dendra. There are also interesting gold pectorals in repoussé work with a design of heraldic sphinxes facing a schematized tree; gold rings and hairrings, diadems in gold, vases in alabaster, glass, and faience, some of the latter in pomegranate form. Masses of Mycenaean pottery from the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries reveal the intensity of Mycenaean penetration.

The volume is richly illustrated. It is full of ideas, some of which will be challenged. It presents important material to aid in the reconstruction of the history of Cyprus, especially from ca. 1450 to 1100 or 1050 B.C. A building similar to building 18 will shortly be published in Volume II of this series by M. Dikaïos, while the forthcoming material from Sinda will help to fill in the history of the period of the Sea Peoples.

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*Essai de classification de la céramique mycénienne d'Enkomi (Campagnes 1946 et 1947)*, by Etienne Coche de la Ferté. Pp. iv + 66, pls. 11. Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris 1951. Fr. Fr. 1000.

In this monograph M. Coche de la Ferté presents a careful study of the Mycenaean and Submycenaean pottery and terracotta figurines from Schaeffer's 1946 and 1947 excavations at Enkomi. Although limited in quantity and not so spectacular as that from the earlier British or Swedish excavations, this material has the virtue of coming in part from a habitation site. Unfortunately, however, as the author admits (7), the stratigraphy has been so disturbed that it is not very valuable in establishing a chronology. For the earlier periods he relies mainly upon stylistic analysis based on the work of Furumark and others; stratigraphic results are limited to the Submycenaean period.

After a brief survey of the few Myc. II imports, the author discusses in turn the pottery of Myc. IIIA (11-15), IIIB (15-22), and IIIC in which the Submycenaean style is included (22-41). A list of characteristic shapes for each period (42), a short discussion of the question of origin of the Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus (43-46), three pages of general conclusions (46-49), a six-page English summary, and an excellent select bibliography complete the work.

For Myc. IIIA the author has little that is new to contribute. He accepts Furumark's chronology and apparently agrees with the reviewer in the relative sequence of the chariot kraters. The IIIB material (Pls. II and IX, 1-2) is interesting in its close affinities to the Mycenaean mainland. A fragment of a panel-style bowl (Pl. II, 4), similar to one from the Lion Gate deposit at Mycenae (BSA xxv, fig. 6f), and several others with antithetic spirals anticipating the Granary style (Pl. IX, 1-2) suggest that Mycenaean trade with the Levant continued for a time beyond the construction of the citadel walls at Mycenae and the refortification of mainland palaces (for a contrary opinion, see Daniel, *AJA* 44 [1940] p. 555 f.).

Indeed the whole theory of a break in relations with Cyprus about 1230 B.C. (Furumark, Daniel, and the reviewer) seems seriously challenged by the comparative wealth of Myc. IIIC material presented by the author (Pl. III; IV, 1-7; IX, 3-8, 9 ff.). Certain pictorial fragments (Pl. III, 1-3, 6) the reviewer would consider late IIIB in style, and others (Pl. III, 4-5) seem to belong to Furumark's Rude Style; there is no reason to connect all birds with the Close Style, for birds were a common part of the pictorial repertory from Myc. II onwards. Some fragments, how-

ever, in their alternate hatchings apparently show the influence of the Close Style (Pl. IV, 2, 5, and 7), and others are perhaps Granary-style imports from the mainland (Pl. IX, 7 ff.). These fragments are unlike the Mycenaean material from previous excavations (mostly tombs) in Cyprus where connections with the mainland seem to stop before the end of Myc. IIIB. They apparently fall into line with the material from Furumark's new excavations at Sinda in Cyprus and with the Tarsus material, and they raise a number of questions. Do they represent continuous contact between the mainland and Cyprus down to the last days of Mycenae, or do they suggest renewed contact in the early twelfth century following a break? In the reviewer's opinion they are not so late as the latest mainland Mycenaean and do not necessitate a raising of the date of the destruction of Mycenae to 1200 B.C., as Coche de la Ferté believes.

The author divides his Submycenaean into two periods, Inferior and Superior, based upon stratigraphy. In the lower, painted pottery lives on with a continuation of some Mycenaean shapes and motives, and the presence of "Philistine" ware gives a general twelfth century date (1150-1075 B.C. according to the author). Upper or "Superior" Submycenaean (1075-1050 B.C.), separated from the lower by a burnt layer, is characterized by growing impoverishment: painted pottery becomes rare and bucchero and incised stone vessels more frequent. Motives still bear witness to the longevity of Mycenaean influence.

A few general criticisms might be made. The author, while accepting Furumark's chronology for Late Mycenaean, needlessly confuses the reader by using Schaeffer's chronology, as well as the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's, for the Late Cypriote Period. SCE, is by now the cornerstone of Cypriote archaeology, and there has been no new evidence for a serious revision of dates. The disparity is occasioned mainly by a different fixing of the lower limit of the Bronze Age. Schaeffer puts it at 1200 B.C. and absorbs most of Late Cypriote III into his Early Iron period, whereas the Swedes continue the Bronze Age terminology until the beginning of Cypro-Geometric about 1050 B.C. Another criticism is the loose and sometimes inconsistent use of terms both for shapes and motives: "amphore" for pithoid jar (17), "meandre" for wavy line (25), etc. References to Furumark's catalogue of shapes and motives would have aided the reader. There are several misprints, the more serious occurring in the concordance of plate numbers and text (Pl. X, 3 and 4 reversed; Pl. III, 4 cited as 3). Despite these minor shortcomings, this monograph is an important contribu-

tion to our knowledge of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. With the full publication of Schaeffer and Dikaio's excavations at Enkomi, Furumark's at Sinda, and Daniel's at Bamboula we may be in a position to understand the now troublesome problems surrounding the end of the Bronze Age and the transition to the Iron Age in Cyprus and their relation to the fall of Mycenae and the Submycenaean style on the mainland.

SARA A. IMMERWAHR

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

**Archäologie I.** Einleitung, Historischer Ueberblick, by *Andreas Rumpf*. (Sammlung Götschen volume 538). Pp. 143, figs. 6, pls. 12. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 1953. D.M. 2.40.

This small pocket book presents the best account yet written of the history of archaeology. Its eight chapters which tell the story from antiquity to our own days contain a wealth of factual information. The narrative, moreover, is not a dry tabulation or a mere assembly of dates and bibliographies: the author is as much of a historian as an archaeologist, and the reader is as grateful for his judicious evaluations as for his comprehensive collection of many oft-forgotten or long-ignored facts and dates. Though the series in which the booklet appears is primarily addressed to an educated lay-public, the volume under review will be of great value to the more advanced student of archaeology. A useful index facilitates easy reference. In a subject where attribution, dating, and interpretation have so often given rise to bitter and prolonged controversies, it is a pleasure to have Rumpf's sober reports and to discover his own views on many a contested topic, often hidden or submerged in passages that at first glance appear to be purely historical. To cite but one example: no student of Laconian pottery can afford to ignore what Rumpf has to say on the Arkesilas cup (pp. 117-8).

This is the first volume on archaeology: the publishers do not tell us by how many others it will be followed nor what their contents will be. But the beginning is an auspicious one and bodes well for the undertaking.

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

**Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Volume XII, the Minor Objects,**

by Gladys R. Davidson. Pp. xii + 366, figs. 83, pls. 148. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 1952. \$25.00.

This volume takes up the miscellaneous objects found at Corinth from 1896 to 1938, which are for the most part small and insignificant but which, when assembled, give a vivid impression of everyday existence in Corinth throughout her history. They reflect many changes in conditions and fashions, and fluctuations in the city's fortunes. Several categories of objects, such as bronze vessels, pestles (first of stone, later of bronze), weights, finger-rings, pins, beads, and buttons are represented in all periods. Others are characteristic only of one or two periods: for example, terracotta figures and loomweights belong primarily to the Greek period; stone vessels, spoons of various styles and materials, and gems occur most frequently in the Roman period; while the Byzantine period has predominance in church implements, metal jewelry, buckles, and lead seals. Spindle whorls, styli, stone pestles, and fibulae are common to the Greek and Roman periods but are not represented in the Byzantine period; glass vessels and weights, needles (of bone or bronze), keys and locks, and furniture fittings of bone or metal are found in the Roman and Byzantine periods but do not occur in the Greek period. Seven major chapters cover many categories and, wherever possible, within each subdivision the subject is discussed and the objects arranged chronologically.

The author, Mrs. Weinberg, deals first with figurines, most of which are of terracotta. Over three-quarters of these belong to the archaic, classical, and Hellenistic Greek periods, with only a scanty representation of Roman pieces. Many of the figurines are from closed deposits, some quite closely dateable, which adds considerably to the interest of the terracottas. Occasionally hitherto unproved dates are thus confirmed: for example No. 143 (which Mrs. Weinberg calls Aphrodite), from a deposit of the late fifth century B.C., is a type whose existence before the fourth century had only been conjectured. Cf. *Olynthus IV* (No. 370) and *XIV* (No. 250) for extensive bibliography for the type, generally called *Leda*. Noteworthy for their large scale and sculptural treatment are Nos. 222 and 223, which perhaps stood in small city shrines. The author's suggestion that No. 222 may have copied the Aphrodite which stood in the temple on Acrocorinth is enticing.

Under the heading "Vessels and Furniture" are ranged the bronze, glass, and stone vessels, the furniture parts, locks, keys, nails, tacks, bosses, glass panes, and inlay, and so on. Although both bronze

and glass vessels of the Roman period are not uncommon at Corinth, those of the Byzantine period are far more numerous. In the eleventh century A.D. two glass factories were established in Corinth, and until the middle of the twelfth century they drove a thriving trade. The inclusion of a glossary of technical terminology in the discussion of glass vessels adds greatly to the interest of the discussion and to the clarity of the descriptions, as do the many excellent profile drawings.

"Implements and Instruments" covers tools for sewing, weaving, and spinning; toilet implements; writing, surgical, household, and musical instruments; arms and armor; weights and balances; and gaming pieces. Loomweights in particular receive a study which is one of the most valuable parts of *Corinth XII*. Mrs. Weinberg has been able to trace for the conical loomweights a chronological development by shape, and to coordinate with this the various stamps and other markings most commonly found on the weights. Except for occasional painted decoration there is no marking of any kind on loomweights until the early fifth century B.C., when incised letters begin to be used. About the middle of the century, gem- and ring-impressions are employed to mark weights; not until the early fourth century is a stamp representing a loomweight found marking a weight. Incised letters become scarce and disappear during the second half of the fourth century, and their place is taken by letter stamps. After about 200 B.C. stamped marks, too, vanish, and the weights themselves become coarser and more carelessly made. The development of the profile is clearly shown in figure 23; in general the weights tend to increase in size, and the greatest diameter becomes higher in relation to the total height of the loomweight.

In a chapter on "Jewelry and Dress Accessories" are many subdivisions: gems of stone and glass (largely of the Roman period), finger-rings, earrings, necklaces and pendants, bracelets, fibulae and buckles, pins, beads, and buttons. Probably the most interesting of these are the finger-rings, which Mrs. Weinberg has classified tentatively (p. 228) as six types with settings and thirteen types without settings. The chronological distribution of the types is summarized in a table which serves to illustrate the long continuance of most types. This classification, while not necessarily final, has the virtue of reducing to manageable proportions an unwieldy bulk of material, and will doubtless form the basis for any subsequent work on finger-rings. Buckles, replacing fibulae as the common clothes fastening in the late Roman period, are interesting for their connections with the North. Some have exact paral-



lels in Hungary of the same time, and may serve to increase our knowledge of the Northern invaders in the seventh century A.D.

The chapter dealing with stamps and seals is devoted almost entirely to the quantities of lead seals of the Byzantine Empire, from the eighth through the twelfth century A.D. Chronological development can be traced in the obverse types; inscriptions on the reverse do not vary much with the passage of years, but they furnish names, government offices, etc. The author has considerably included in her discussion a glossary of the titles and offices which occur on the seals, with their functions, and a note of any change in the nature of the office which may have taken place during the centuries covered by the seals. Appended (pp. 354-358) are indexes of surnames, given names, place names, titles and offices, and sacred personages which occur on the lead seals, with a list of those seals having metrical inscriptions. A handful of seals of the Venetian period are from patent medicine bottles. They are the occasion for a brief and entertaining history of theriacs, with special attention to "Venice treacle."

A few miscellaneous objects are dealt with in the final chapter. Perhaps most noteworthy is the terracotta base with two horses in relief, probably to be restored, with a free-standing figure beside each horse, as a support for a large terracotta statuette of Helen. A concordance of catalogue and inventory numbers, indexes for the lead seals, a good general index, and an index of uncatalogued objects mentioned in the text conclude this huge work. Every one of the 2939 pieces catalogued is illustrated by a photograph or a drawing. The plates are clear and well arranged; the final six plates are given over to comparative material, reconstructions, and uncatalogued objects, while nothing but the catalogued pieces is admitted on plates 1 to 142. The figures in the text are uniformly good.

Mrs. Weinberg has done a monumental job in organizing this large body of material so that it is easily and pleasantly useable. She has wisely declined to overweight her catalogue with bibliography or lists of similar objects from other excavations and museums. She supplies the key references and mentions comparative material of particular interest, but leaves it to the reader to pursue the subject further if he wishes. Although some of her conclusions are necessarily tentative because of insufficient evidence, her discussions throughout are thorough, clear, and well written. The history of Corinth, summarized in the introduction, has been greatly enlivened by this presentation of the minor objects.

R. C. Wood

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

### Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis.

A photographic catalogue by the late *Humfry Payne* and *Gerard Mackworth Young*, with an introduction by Humfry Payne. Pp. xiii + 79, fig. 1, pls. 140, frontispiece. Second edition, William Morrow and Company, New York 1951. \$15.00.

As Mr. Young explains in a note (p. viii), the unsold copies of the first edition were destroyed in the bombing as were the negatives. The blocks, however, were preserved and have made this reprinting possible. This is a slimmer volume than its predecessor, for the plates are printed on both sides, but the text has been kept intact (save for a few corrections). The bibliography has been brought up to date by Sir John Beazley who added the numbers of Schrader's big catalogue, published in 1939, and listed subsequent publications and discussions of individual pieces. His contributions appear in brackets at the end of each entry in the "List of Plates and Bibliography." Another improvement is the addition of text references to the "Concordance of Museum-Numbers and Plates," a feature suggested by Miss Richter in her review of the first edition (*AJA* 41 [1937] 161-3).

Many of the half-tones have not printed so well in this edition which has employed a lighter paper, but all admirers of archaic sculpture will be glad to have available again Payne's masterly introduction and Mr. Young's excellent photographs.

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

**Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture**, by *Gisela M. A. Richter*. Lectures delivered at the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Harvard University, 28, 30 March and 1 April 1949. Pp. 79, figs. 142. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1951. \$5.00.

This book follows directly on *Archaic Greek Art* (1949), another lecture series delivered by the same author in 1941. Its first lecture deals with the Transition Period, 480-445 B.C., of which the characteristics are the rendering of motion and emotion, and novel stances which are often precarious. The personality of Pheidias is taken as the cause of the submergence of these characteristics during the subsequent century of restrained Classicism.

The revival of active, striving sculpture, and the artist Lysippos as the cause of the reaction, form the subject of the second lecture (the last third of the fourth century B.C.). Lysippos' creations, as



represented in copies, are carefully reassembled and he is given credit for the origin of most Hellenistic characteristics. The last part of the lecture questions whether or not it is legitimate to speak of a Pergamene, a Rhodian, an Alexandrian, and a mainland school of the third and second centuries B.C., and the author's answer is negative. Miss Richter believes that since the age was international, there were no fixed "schools." This conclusion will, of course, be challenged. It is certainly salutary to be reminded how feeble is the evidence by which these theoretical schools have been supported for half a century, but, while admitting this weakness, many see new evidence justifying classification by schools. In the opinion of this reviewer, such evidence exists in the minor arts. The work of Ippel, Roeder, Zahn, Neugebauer, and Picard, to mention only a few, has provided a foundation for localizing commercial products and small sculpture in bronze and terracotta, a foundation built not primarily upon comparison with large sculpture, but upon the use of quantitative evidence on provenience and by comparison of like objects with like. From such studies, conclusions as to local taste are reached, and these conclusions help one to locate sculpture. (The dating of many silver and other objects in the second century B.C. has received unexpected confirmation from the inscribed Stevensweert kantharos, published since the delivery of Miss Richter's lectures.)

The third lecture deals with the impact of Greece upon Rome in the first century B.C. In the author's opinion, sculpture of this age is Greek, and the Roman style is a later development. Some evidence is drawn from Vessberg, more from inscriptions and literary texts, the first group of which concerns the transportation of statues to Rome. There follows evidence for the date of point copying leading to the conclusion that it was practiced no later than the early part of the first century B.C. (in the reviewer's opinion, the evidence proves merely that the date was no earlier). Next comes the signature on copies, with the observation that it is always the copyist's name that is recorded. Neo-Attic reliefs are discussed as mechanical copies, as had been demonstrated by Hauser and others. Signatures on portrait statues show that the artists were Greeks. Finally, some ostensibly Roman portrait heads belong to bodies copied from Greek statues, convincing the author that the artist was a point copyist by trade. This observation was further developed by Miss Richter in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 95 (1951) pp. 185 ff. (delivered later but appearing about the same time as the book under review). This collection of portrait statue types is extremely valuable, but the best of the

heads are of late imperial date, and so the evidence is not altogether relevant to the first century B.C.

One feels that the thesis of this chapter, that the first century B.C. is an age of copying and copying only, is pushed pretty hard sometimes, as when the Belvedere torso, the Terme boxer, and the Borghese warrior are dubbed copies of second-century works chiefly on the ground that as originals they would be anomalies in an age of copying. And, in spite of a final attempt to make amends, the reader gets the impression of a completely sterile century, a picture inconsistent with the magnificent contemporary minor arts.

However, one may not expect such a vast field to be thoroughly surveyed in such short space. It should be remembered, with regard to this last lecture and the book as a whole, that no lecture series is a handbook, and that a series such as this fulfills its purpose, since it is thought-provoking when delivered and well documented when published.

DOROTHY KENT HILL

#### THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

**Altattische Malerei**, by Karl Kübler. Pp. 84, figs. 21 + 92. Wasmuth, Tübingen 1950. D.M. 14.00.

Ostensibly a pleasant little picture book, this volume has barely thirty pages of text (pp. 35-84 are "plates"), no index, no footnotes, and only a half-page of bibliography. This first impression does not prepare the reader for the solid, scholarly treatise which he finds.

Kübler's real concern is with Proto-Attic pottery. The title, *Altattische Malerei*, only implies the existence, in the seventh century B.C., of a parallel series of lost monumental paintings, for which the vase-paintings are made to serve as testimonials (see especially pp. 5, 18-19). The vase-paintings are described and interpreted with this supposed connection in mind, to such a degree that Kübler presumes all of the various techniques which appear in the vase-paintings—including that of incision—to have been matched in the techniques of monumental painting (contra, Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, p. 1). Quite apart from this question, however, Kübler's treatment of the pottery for its own sake chiefly occupies his concern and adds much to our knowledge.

The author's leading part in the Kerameikos excavations would at once promise exciting revelations, and our expectations are not disappointed. Not only are we given an abundance of new or hitherto hardly accessible materials, but, from Kübler's first-hand knowledge of the whole range of

seventh-century Attic art, we gain a fresh outlook on the entire subject.

Kübler's descriptions, though full of fine observations on other matters, dwell with special care on techniques, under the stimulus of many startling finds from the Kerameikos. From these rich materials he is able to derive a pattern of technical development which goes far beyond that set forth in any earlier study.

The stylistic outline tends to follow the familiar course, but with notable enrichment and clarification, again emphasizing the finds from the Kerameikos. Within this outline, "Proto-Corinthianizing," a continuing pressure from the outset, is shown in relentless battle with the Attic zest for invention (which Kübler associates especially with "free" brush painting)—now exercising a wholesome restraint, now losing ground, but at times binding the otherwise adventurous Attic spirit to a weak stereotypy. Kübler, in drawing the contrast between Proto-Corinthian miniaturism and Proto-Attic monumentality, seems consistently to favor "free" brush painting over incision, invention over skill, to such an extent that discipline to him seems almost synonymous with frigidity. But surely we need not call the Nessos Painter a weakling to agree with both Kübler and Beazley (*Development*, p. 119) that "the Chimæra Painter is greater."

On stylistic connections. — While one must admit the importance of Proto-Corinthian influence, it seems odd to describe an Attic vase showing less of this influence than its companions (p. 8) as being "more Atticized." — Again, the question of Cycladic influence upon Proto-Attic (pp. 8, 13, and elsewhere) is still far from settled, and at least some of the influence must have been the other way around. — Concerning a new wave of "Orientalizing" which seems to occur late in the seventh century B.C., it is hard to believe with Kübler (p. 24) that Athens "took just as important a part" as Corinth. Rather, it seems that, since these new features appear suddenly in Attic work together with several fresh borrowings of Corinthian shapes, a new wave of "Corinthianizing" (brought by immigrant Corinthian artists?) can fully account for these innovations. — Lastly, to the reviewer, the ethnic contrast implied (p. 9) between "Attic-Ionic" (with bronze-age roots) and "Doric-Protocorinthian" (with what roots?) feeling seems at least strained: Attic Geometric style can scarcely qualify as "Ionic exuberance."

Although Kübler does on occasion mention identity of hand, and thus contrives almost furtively to honor the Ram-Jug Painter and others, he prefers

in general (p. 5) to stress the main outlines of development. For the study of individual artists one must still turn to other sources, notably Cook, *BSA* 35 (1934-35), pp. 165-219; Beazley, *Hesperia* 13 (1944), pp. 38-57 (stangely omitted in Kübler's bibliography); Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I (1950), pp. 285-346 and pls. 187-240; and now, in brief but vivid outline, Beazley, *Development*, pp. 1-16. The complete history of Proto-Attic vase-painting, when it is written, will combine both approaches.

Kübler boldly dates all his specimens, often to the decade. For the middle phases of Proto-Attic, Kübler's dating agrees with proposals currently in vogue, but his scheme is sprung outward at the ends: that is, his total range of dates for materials commonly placed c. 700-600 B.C. is c. 740-580 B.C. For example, the hydria Berlin Inv. 31312 (p. 38, fig. 8) is dated c. 740-730, against a usual dating of c. 700; and, at the other extreme, the Athens Nessos Amphora (p. 81, figs. 86-87) is placed c. 590, whereas it is usually dated well before 600 B.C. Kübler supports his early dating of the earliest Proto-Attic specimens with evidence from the Kerameikos which he relates to Proto-Corinthian finds from Cumae (p. 6), in an argument which is hard to follow if not somehow fallacious; and is it possible, at the other end of the scale, that the Athens Nessos Amphora was painted only twenty-five years before the François vase?

The book is modestly but attractively produced, with glossy paper, excellent half-tone illustrations, and good, clear type. On this score, there can be little complaint. (1) There are no captions under the pictures. (2) There are too few pictures of whole vases. (3) The numbering of the illustrations is somewhat awkward, with two full sets of arabic figures—one in the text (cited in round parentheses), one in the "plates" at the end (cited in square brackets): how much easier simply to have numbered the whole lot consecutively! (4) In the list of illustrations, pp. 32-33, inventory numbers are cited for the specimens from the Kerameikos, but one misses specific reference to previous publication and discussion of these pieces, principally in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*.

Although the author must have had some such purpose in mind, Kübler's work does much more than serve as an interim report pending fuller publication of the seventh-century materials from the Kerameikos. In its own right *Altattische Malerei* is a valuable contribution to the study of early Greek art.

D. A. AMYX

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**Zur griechischen Vasenmalerei des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus**, by Erwin Bielefeld. Pp. 27, pls. 32. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle (Saale) 1952. D.M. 9.60.

With the aid of forty-six vases and the fourth-century grave-relief in Worcester, Dr. Bielefeld in this attractive picture book gives an interesting account of vase-painting in its artistic development. For illustrations he has happily chosen a good many unpublished vases, or unpublished views of better known vases. The emphasis here is perhaps less on style than on composition, and in the narrow frame of thirty-two plates the author has managed to illustrate several unusual subjects and many interesting details. The pictures are large, and have, on the whole, printed well.

The text proper is without notes and references: perhaps it was written *procul ab urbe*. For the convenience of students a few remarks and references are added here. Fig. 3: on the vase see Dohrn, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen aus der zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts* (1937) pp. 84 ff. The view published gives the most restored aspect of the vase: cf. Dohrn, pl. 4 no. 102. Fig. 5: not by Euthymides but the Kleophrades Painter. Fig. 6: probably Attic, after all. Fig. 10: Louvre G 385, more fragments have now been found, and the cup is nearly completed. Fig. 19: by the Phiale Painter. Fig. 21: in the manner of the Meidias Painter. Fig. 22: New York 39.11.11. Not 420 as dated on p. 12. The description and analysis of the composition have to be revised. There is no void on the left, but white ground-lines. The Amazon is not falling, but lies—*asleep or dead*—in the landscape. The figure on the right need not be a Greek. Fig. 23: this lekythos is much restored. Fig. 24: in the manner of the Meidias Painter. Figs. 30-31: the museum numbers have been switched. Fig. 36: this is the namepiece of the Painter of Louvre CA 1694. Fig. 41: *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum* 23 (1932) 1, 19, 21. Figs. 42 and 44: the photographs were taken by Paul Jacobsthal. Fig. 46: on the interpretation of the vase see Rumpf in *JHS* 71 (1951) pp. 168 ff. Fig. 47: for a complete view of the picture on this vase see Benndorf, *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* (1867) pl. 44, whence *R.M.* 47 (1932) p. 127.

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum**. Deutschland, Band 8, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, Band 2. By German Hafner. Pp. 51, figs. 3, pls. 43-86. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich 1952. D.M. 36.00.

The second fascicule of the Karlsruhe collection, following the first after a year's interval, presents over two hundred and fifty pieces of pottery from outside the Greek mainland: the Cypriote, East Greek, and various Italic categories. Trojan pottery has been omitted and a selection has been made from the Cypriote and Italic collections. The plates are numbered consecutively with those previously published and the table of contents and indices cover both the first and second fascicules. The arrangement of plates and text is the same as for the companion volume.

The Bronze Age, in its three phases, and the Iron Age are represented in the group of Cypriote vases. East Greek for the most part is Rhodian. The native Italic wares include Buccherio, Peucetian, Daunian, Messapian. Red-figure pottery is largely Apulian (including the elaborate volute krater with an Underworld scene and Bellerophon), but also Campanian, Paestan, and Lucanian. Gnathia vases and examples of early Hellenistic relief pottery complete the volume. None of these classes is indicated by the rubrics of the *CVA*, a lack noted by the reviewer of the first fascicule (*AJA* 57 [1953] p. 41); admittedly cumbersome as they were first employed, the rubrics serve a useful purpose and it seems regrettable to abandon them completely.

The bibliography is laconic, but its simplicity often deceptive, as illustrated by the section on Cyprus. The initial surprise at the omission of *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* from the introductory bibliography is soon allayed by references at appropriate places in the catalogue. Gjerstad's chronology is used and his *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* cited at the beginning of the section. The only other publication quoted in the same place is Schaeffer's *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale* and the implication is that this will lead one to further bibliography and the intricacies of Cypriote chronology. The additional implication that the *CVA* is not the place to evaluate systems of dates is justifiable, but a nod in the direction of the problem would not be amiss. And one would like to see included in the general Cypriote bibliography the *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum* (2nd edition, Sydney, Australia, 1948), a meaty volume with a high-protein chapter on Cypriote archaeology by J. R. Stewart. A. D. Trendall's work in the same book offers a succinct resumé of the South Italian red-figure wares. For East Greek pottery one should consult the comments and bibliography packed into three pages by R. M. Cook, "Ionia and Greece, 800-600 B.C.," *JHS* 66, 1946, pp. 93-95.

For the most part the illustrations are good and adequate. Occasionally one can foresee a specialist's craving for clearer detail, such as a photographic

close-up of the animals coursing along the shoulder of the Rhodian jug on Plate 46. But it is a pleasure to have a fascicule of the *Corpus* which presents its material with uncrowded illustrations and a clear, brief text.

While on the subject of illustrations, the reviewer would like to interpolate a suggestion that, following the practice of excavation reports, profiles be included in publications of collections of pottery. Additional work, to be sure, but useful, particularly when vases must often be foreshortened to show decoration to advantage.

FRANCES FOLLIN JONES

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**Sylloge Numorum Graecorum vol. 3: The Lockett Collection**, part 5. Lesbos-Cyrenaica. Addenda (Gold and Silver). Pp. 16, pls. 16. Oxford University Press 1949.

Part V of the Lockett Collection contains coins of Asia Minor, mostly autonomous, and regal issues of Cyprus, Cappadocia, Syria, Parthia, India, Bactria, and Egypt. Next come coins of Cyrenaica, then Addenda: two-thirds, coins of Magna Graecia, the rest, of Greece.

The obverse of the octadrachm of Getas, king of the Edonians, No. 3524, is not executed in the primitive, vigorous style of the coins illustrated by Babelon, *TR II*<sup>1</sup>, Pl. XLV. It bears the same types as No. 8 of this plate, which however is uninscribed. Yet there is an example in Brussels, Svoronos, "L'Hellénisme Primitif," Pl. IV, 19, bearing an inscription on the reverse concerning which see Svoronos' comment, p. 49.

Among the Seleucid coins we note No. 3154, a rare first issue of Antiochus VI, a tetradrachm with title, Epiphanes, dated in the Seleucid era, 167 (146/5), with portrait of Antiochus IV, published by Babelon, "Rois de Syrie," Pl. XX, 6. It was once attributed to Apamea by Newell, "Seleucid Mint of Antioch," p. 61, n. 31, but his specimen is now in his tray under Antioch. For the style of the reverse, compare an Antiochene issue of Alexander I Balas, Newell, *ibid.*, Pl. VII, 157. Recently Sydenham, *NumChron*, 1937, pp. 147-8, has published another example of this dated issue of Antiochus VI and explained fully the circumstances under which the coin was struck. It was not strictly speaking "A Tetradrachm of Antiochus IV Reissued by Antiochus VI," as he entitles it, but a coin struck by Tryphon for his protégé, the boy-king, Antiochus

VI, with portrait of Antiochus IV, who was the alleged grandfather of the boy.

The tetradrachm, No. 3197, assigned in the *Sylloge* to Antiochus XI, was long ago attributed by Newell, *op. cit.*, with good reasons to Antiochus XIII.

Turning to the Ptolemies, Nos. 3404-5, the initiation of the gold coinage with double busts, the *Theon Adelphon* series, is still credited to Ptolemy II. But on the very first issue of this class, the inscription, *Theon Adelphon*, stood above the conjoined portraits of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II, Svoronos, *Ptolemies*, Pl. XXVIII, 1 and 2, making it clear that this couple "had changed their abode to that of the gods," as the saying went. Consequently it was Ptolemy III who introduced this coinage honoring his parents and grandparents. That this particular issue headed the series follows from the style and the rarity of existing specimens and also from the modifications subsequently made in the types. On the ensuing coins, like the *Sylloge* pieces, which are so common today, *Theon* was transferred to that side of the coins bearing the busts of Ptolemy I and Berenice I, and this side now became the reverse.

The gold octadrachms with the head of a Ptolemaic king with the attributes, rayed crown, aegis, and scepter-trident, No. 3424, certainly represent the deified conqueror, Ptolemy III, the issuer being Ptolemy IV. In the *Sylloge* they are described under Ptolemy V, the portrait being called that of Ptolemy IV. Supporting the assignment of this class to Ptolemy IV are two gold hoards found at Benha, in Egypt. The earlier one known consists exclusively of such octadrachms and *Theon Adelphon* coins, "Benha Hoard of 1923," Newell, *The Numismatist*, 1924, p. 301; the later, discovered ca. 1936, has been published by the reviewer in *ANSMusN*, V, 1952. Since composing this paragraph, the reviewer, feeling sure that the attribution in the *Sylloge* must have been an error, wrote to Mr. Robinson, who has replied that he never had any other opinion than that the rayed portrait was that of Ptolemy III.

The specimens in Part V of the splendid Lockett Collection are wonderfully well-preserved coins acquired in great part from the Bement, Pozzi, and other famous collections or sales. As usual in these publications they are beautifully illustrated. The condensed descriptions, precise and learned as ever, are a pleasure to read and to study.

AGNES B. BRETT

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**The Stevensweert Kantharos**, by Leo H. Brom. Pp. 29, pls. 9, figs. 6. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague 1952. Guilders 15.00.



This beautiful, small publication of the striking silver vase from Stevensweert is an English translation, with many new illustrations, of the Dutch work of 1951 (*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks Deel 14, no. 7). The Dutch version was used by Roes and Vollgraff, *MonPiot* 46 (1952) pp. 39-67. Brom's publication must be used in conjunction with their article, since Roes and Vollgraff accept the technical conclusions of Brom, who speaks as a practicing silversmith.

The kantharos, found in 1942 in gravel in the river Meuse, is a masterpiece and well preserved. It is of the "calyx" type, and its handles once grew out of the vine and ivy sprays on the convex part of the body. The concave section has four heads preserved: Dionysos wearing a head cloth; Pan; and twin young persons, probably the Dioscuri. In addition a Herakles is supposed to have been found, while the sixth is lost, but hypothesized as Cybele. The heads are separated one from another by various Bacchic and other symbols and implements. Around the top of the cup and on the base there is a variety of patterns.

Three inscriptions on the base are: a Greek dedication to Zeus; a Latin weight inscription for the pair; and an owner's name, M. Titinius, this last scratched out during antiquity. If this M. Titinius can be equated with the one who, according to Diodorus Siculus, 36, 4, 3, served in Sicily in 104 B.C., and if we may interpret the inscriptions and the symbolism to indicate original dedication in a Sicilian sanctuary, 104 B.C. becomes the *terminus ante quem* for the vase. Actually, Roes and Vollgraff go further and date the kantharos in the middle or the second half of the second century B.C.

According to the author, the base was cast and lathe turned; its main frieze, gilded except for the rosettes, was cast separately and added. The lining of the cup and the upper part of the outside were cast in one and fitted into a separately cast lower two-thirds of the outside. Such construction is not unusual: the best illustrated example is the "olive" cup from the House of Menander: (Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro*, I, fig. 129, opp. p. 332). An irregularity in the spacing of the rosettes on the upper border is due to the workman's having used a cylindrical stamp of not quite the right circumference in the preparation of the wax model; this upper frieze was gilded, except for the rosettes. The outer section, with its highly embossed heads and symbols, is a *skin casting*, hand finished.

This coincidence of a technique seldom suspected and a date of fair certainty is extremely important. Skin casting of silver in the second century B.C. has never even been hypothesized. However, in view of

some previous work, such dating for the technique is not altogether surprising. For bronze, a much earlier date for skin casting was suggested by Züchner (*Mänadenkrater*, 98 *Winckelmannsprogramm*, Berlin, p. 10, and *Griechische Klappspiegel*, *JDAI*, 14 *Ergänzungsheft*, pp. 48 f., no. KS 64). As for silver, Ippel had already decided that certain pieces, such as the interior of the Athena plate from the Hildesheim Treasure and the centaur cup in Naples, were cast (*Guss und Treibarbeit*, 97 *Winckelmannsprogramm*, Berlin, pp. 16 f., 23).

The newly discovered kantharos raises many questions which will not soon be answered. The picture is complicated by the fact that techniques for metalware are not easy to recognize and that few good pieces of Hellenistic and Roman silverware can be dated by external evidence. For these very reasons Brom's study of the technique of this kantharos is of great value.

DOROTHY KENT HILL

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

**Pompeii alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza (anni 1910-1923)**, by Vittorio Spinazzola. Opera postuma a cura di Salvatore Aurigemma. Vol. I: pp. lxx + 680, figs. cvii + 650, pls. 10. Vol. II: pp. 430, figs. 403, pl. 1. Album: pls. 96 + ii. La Libreria dello Stato, Rome 1953. Lire 80,000.

The above heading (*respice pretium!*) implies that this is no ordinary book: it is the documentation of an extensive and remarkable undertaking; it will at once be accepted as a primary source by workers in the several branches of scholarship which it covers or touches. The many illustrations are equalled in clarity by the smooth, at times eloquent flow of the text; the plates in the album were mostly prepared under Spinazzola's direct supervision, but as regards the colored reproductions, the greatest success was reached at a later stage in the *tricolore dal vero* of the Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato. Special treatment of the inscriptions—"the Voices of the Street"—was to have formed a part of the publication: but this grew under its author's hands to such an extent as to require a separate volume to itself, the appearance of which is still to be hoped for but at an undefinable date in the future.

The *decumanus minor* of Pompeii must always have served as an important artery of communication, full of activity: it connected the civic center on its west with the vicinity of the amphitheater and sports field on its east. Long before the establishment of the Sullan colonists, its sides were lined



with the residences of the well-to-do; later times, with the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the old families and the economic and housing crisis occasioned by the earthquake of A.D. 62, witnessed many changes, including infiltration by the commercial element, subdivision of property, and re-decoration of wall-surfaces in the styles of the successive periods—in some instances, with representations of profound literary or religious significance.

Spinazzola's administration, here recorded, was noteworthy, in the first instance, for clearing the main stretch of this thoroughfare, which had been left untouched by earlier excavators; and as a corollary, for his skillfully availing himself of the exceptional opportunity for preserving and re-erecting in place the partially collapsed remains of upper stories, primarily façades, with their windows and balconies, likewise the roofs that projected over the sidewalks and formed an integral part of the architectural esthetics of the house-fronts: his acquaintance with evidence as to the architecture of the Eastern Mediterranean, and still more, with representations of upper-story architecture in the Campanian wall-decorations, had convinced him that such fenestrated upper stories were a normal feature of the Pompeian houses. Under his precise instructions, and applying the extensive equipment—wooden beams, steel girders, protective sheets of glass, etc.—which had been prepared in advance, the groups of skilled workmen—those admirable *maestranze* who had already proved their worth in less arduous tasks—were able to proceed stratigraphically in removing, in inverse order to the successive phases of the eruption, the respective layers of ejecta, and by scrupulous observation of the positions in which the structural remains were lying, followed by immediate assembling and reinforcing in preparation for their utilization as planned by the original builders, eventually to re-erect the upper parts of one house-front after another; and when indications warranted, to proceed further and reconstruct whole houses including their upper stories with their roofs (thus complying to a certain extent with the consideration that a façade is fully intelligible only as the co-efficient of what lies behind it, and at the same time adding some splendid examples to the repertory of decorated interiors). Equal attention was devoted to the recovery and protection (preservation) of the painted house-fronts. A new phase had begun in the comprehension of the ancient dwelling, derived from material evidence objectively interpreted.

Along with this, the perfection of the technique of excavation and restoration which by this time had been attained made it possible to piece together, often from many minute fragments, the decorated wall-surfaces and ceilings of the interiors; while the

scrupulous care devoted to the observation and recording of the small objects and the positions in which they were discovered ensured that full profit was derived from the evidence as to the occupants. At the same time, the finds of inscriptions—most of them painted on the fronts of the houses—were being recorded, almost day by day, by that epigraphist unrivalled in his field, Matteo Della Corte, with results which should soon be resumed—pending Spinazzola's own appraisal—in the new supplement to *CIL* IV and the second edition of the unique *Casa e Abitanti a Pompei*. During a series of years, brief preliminary reports had been appearing in *NSc*; many details gradually became common knowledge through one medium or another; the architecture of the city block Reg. II, Ins. v, was eventually treated in the series *I monumenti italiani*, Ser. II, fasc. 1; and in the years following the campaigns here recorded, Maiuri's administration was steadily extending the uncovered area of this region of the city with impressive results, some of which appeared in *La Casa del Menandro* and *Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia*, sez. III, Pompei, ii. Simultaneously, Calza's investigations at Ostia had yielded other types of several-storied houses, mostly of a later period than those at Pompeii. The novelty of the little colorful world that had been revealed by the *Scavi Nuovi* had to some extent faded; but scholars still awaited the full, official, and—humanly speaking—definitive publication which is now at hand.

A mere list of its contents would far exceed the limits of a review: they include such varied items as the tracing of ancient gardens by means of pouring fluid plaster into the cavities in the soil left by the trunks of trees and shrubs; some hitherto unrecognized types of atrium; evidence as to various handicrafts; a fullery; the house of a gem-engraver with its equipment and stock-in-trade; several street shrines and religious pictures; a number of street paintings glorifying Rome; three cycles of scenes illustrating the *Iliad*; and lengthy inventories of house-doors (pp. 320-334, 642-644), windows (pp. 66-80), and pergulae (pp. 113-118, 615-618), as well as of representations of tablet-pictures with folding shutters (pp. 354-357, 503-531, 669 f.). For full measure, the *Domus Obelli Firmi* is included, with its paintings and the indications of an upper story.

After all these years, and the delays and damages due to various causes—Spinazzola's transfer to another post, his illness and in 1943 his death, followed by the bombing of Pompeii and Milan—it is only now, thanks to the *pietas* of his household and the enlightened interest shown by the Italian State and its agencies, that this eagerly-awaited work sees the light; its documentary value has meanwhile

been enhanced through the deterioration which awaited the monuments themselves. The figure of its author emerges as that of a highly gifted scholar and an archaeological administrator and organizer of the first rank. It is one of the tragedies of the age that the recognition which will now be accorded to his remarkable accomplishment could not reach him during his lifetime.

The *Scavi Nuovi* may well prove to have been, despite all the significance of the results achieved, the last extensive excavation directed by a single brain with a corps of technical assistants functioning, as Frontinus would have said, *ut manus quaedam et instrumentum agentis*: the present tendency favors group work and collaboration. In the light of events, it may be questioned whether the demands made upon a single individual by such extreme centralization were not excessive. If it had been found practical to share current developments more freely with fellow-scholars and in return to consider their judgments, both sides might have been gainers: reasoned appraisal might have been devoted, e.g., to the identification of the occupants of certain houses, a problem which now must be re-opened in the face of a terminology which has become the familiar routine of a whole generation of scholars. Rostovtzeff's masterly treatment of the *oecus* in the basement of the *Casa Omerica*, in the second chapter of his *Mystic Italy*, would have been composed in more favorable circumstances; Spinazzola's own interpretation (pp. 385 f.) of the shallow, roughly-plastered set-back in the rear wall of the room with the portrait of the priest of Isis in Reg. II, Ins. v, no. 2 — *Domus D. Octavi Quartionis*, as it is here called — could have been reconsidered in view of my observations in *MAAR* XV (1938), 76, in favor of an explanation as the setting for a panel painting; and the incidental reference (pp. 525, 669 note 398) to the *stylopinakia* of the Cyzicene heroon might have been recast in the light of the treatment *loc. cit.* p. 74. Conversely, my effort (*JRS* 9 [1919] 60, 64) to understand the *ab ornithone plumula* of Varro's villa at Casinum (*de R. R.* III, v, 11) would have benefited by considering the equation *pluma* (*CIL* X, 937 = *ILS* 5335) = overhanging roof (pp. 59 f., 609 note 55), which suggests that Varro was really describing a covered portico at the front of his aviary.

Such reflections however seem immaterial and irrelevant at the present time: they are advanced merely *exempli gratia*. The important matter is, that the *Scavi Nuovi* — still in many essentials new to us — have now been rendered accessible and the appraisal of both the rich material and the interpretation accorded it by its discoverer thrown open to

all with a completeness and a generosity for which the community of scholarship will be grateful.

A. W. VAN BUREN

ROME

**Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Side im Jahre 1947**, by Arif Müfid Mansel, Emin Bosch, and Jale İnan. (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, Series V, No. 11: Untersuchungen in der Gegend von Antalya, No. 3). Pp. 80, pls. 35, including 9 plans and drawings, and 100 figures. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, Ankara, 1951.

This is a preliminary report, in Turkish and German, of a brief but profitable campaign on the picturesque site of Side, the Pamphylian city of pirates and traders, lapped on all sides but one by the waters of the Mediterranean. Excavations were pursued in the southwest corner of the city and at certain points along the colonnaded street which led to the theater, in the center of the Roman town but on the limits of the Byzantine Side. It is expected that the survey will be continued by the indefatigable Turkish Historical Society.

Most of the remains date from the second and third centuries of the Empire, the period of the town's greatest prosperity. They include almost twin temples of classic Greek type, distyle in antis, with a peripteros of eleven columns on the sides and six on the ends, of which enough has been found to determine their main architectural features. The order is a simple Corinthian, with a frieze of Medusa heads in a metope-like arrangement, as elsewhere in contemporary Asia Minor. The larger temple may have been sacred to Athena, the smaller to Apollo. A third temple of a unique type, semicircular with a colonnaded forecourt, may be ascribed to the moon god Men. It lay somewhat to the east of the other two.

The street itself had a number of interesting features. The colonnades were not parallel, but widened out at street intersections to form little squares. Both rows of columns supported roofs before a line of shops, but the shops were differently laid out on the two sides. One side of the street had an open, the other a closed, drain.

The harvest of sculpture was not extensive, but included heads of a Tyche and of a horned and capped Dionysus, and a naked Apollo standing with crossed feet and leaning on a cithara. This is a blend of the athlete and the citharoedus, two distinct fourth-century types which were probably combined

in the third century B.C. (so Furtwängler). The well-known Apollo of Arles is very similar.

Of the forty-four inscriptions found by the expedition, almost half were small fragments, but only seven were previously known, five having been copied by Lanckoronski or earlier visitors, and two used by L. Robert in his *Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec* (Paris, 1940; p. 144). Two are funerary, one a dedication, the remainder mostly honorary. They were found in various places, chiefly along the street and in the theater. The three temples yielded only scraps. They range in date from the first century of the Empire to the fifth.

The editors publish no photographs. Their copies are doubtless accurate enough for most purposes. They make no attempt to establish a chronology of the scripts, but the general development is clear, even if the material, here and elsewhere, does not lend itself to exactness.

The earliest text is probably the statue base of Licinnius Mucianus (restored as Λουκίαν[όν cf. Robert, *REG* (1952) 53), consul (no. 22). This is presumably Gaius Licinnius Mucianus, *suffectus II* in A.D. 70 and *III* in 72; the date of his first consulship is unknown. This has been suggested already by J. and L. Robert, *REG* 65 (1952) 53-55. He was a notable author and statesman (*RE* 25, 436-443; *PIR* II, no. 147, pp. 280-282), whose origin was supposed to be Anatolian because of the location of the monuments in his honor. The dedication here is by ἡ πατρις, but this need not mean that he was born in Side. The script is the classical, standard Greek type, with letters evenly spaced and equal in height, with small apices.

Very much the same script is used in the dating formula mentioning the proconsul Ti. Claudius Bithynicus of perhaps sixty years later (no. 28), but an increasing degree of ornamentation appears soon after. A clue to the relative dating of the texts is provided by the titles which the city used of itself. The companion statue bases of Modestus and Modesta (nos. 1/2; J. and L. Robert, *REG* 64 (1951) 193-195, have explained the enigmatic letters Δ = πρώτη and Ε = ἑβδομος), erected in commemoration of gladiatorial *munera*, show the elongated, rectangular script of, probably, the Severan period, and the city styles itself ἡ λαμπρά μητρόπολις Σίδη. Later is no. 19 in honor of a *corrector* whose name is lost. This shows a rounded alphabet with ornamental omega, and the city is ἡ λαμπροτάτη καὶ ἑβδομος Σιδητῶν πόλις. Later still is the mannered and angular script of no. 18, with its use of ligatures and marks of punctuation. The city is now ἡ λαμπροτάτη καὶ ἑβδομος ἐξάκις νεοκῆρος Σιδητῶν πόλις, and there is reason to suppose that we are in the period of Aurelian. With the

fourth century text no. 29, which betrays its late date by the use of a crossed *upsilon*, the city has become ἡ λαμπροτάτη καὶ μεγίστη μητρόπολις Σίδη.

No. 18 has received too little attention since its publication by Lanckoronski. It is ignored by Krister Hanell, who treats of the *neokoros* title in 1935 (*RE* 32, col. 2427). Side seems quite unique in being "six-times *neokoros*." Ephesos had this distinction four times, Sardes and Smyrna but three, and once was honor enough for most cities. Side was not large at best. Bosch is certainly right in suggesting that it must have included every temple it had in this enumeration. The use of the title is supposed to have ceased soon after the middle of the third century, and Hanell is doubtful of a coin of Aurelian with the legend ΠΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ; instead, perhaps, we may imagine that the *gamma* is really a *stigma*, and that this represents the high water mark of Side's neocorate. At all events, in no. 2, which is a good half century earlier, Bosch is probably wrong to restore ἐξάκις, which is, in addition, too short for the lacuna. It might be τετράκις.

If no. 18 may be dated to the mid-third century, tentatively, we have a little basis for dating nos. 10/11 to the late second. The alphabet is rounded and classical, with punctuation and an occasional small *omicron*. The one is a dedication in honor of the *boule*, the other of the *demos*, with, in both cases, the sister body doing the honoring. This reciprocal arrangement is overseen by a *gerousia*, which actually set up the statues. The complimentary titles bear interesting comparison with those of the same three civic bodies in no. 18. In the earlier pair the *boule* is ἱερὰ (hardly possible much before A.D. 200), the *demos* σεμνότερος, and the *gerousia* μεγάλη. In the later text the *boule* is λαμπροτάτη, the *demos* εὐσταθής (an unusual term, "tranquil"), while the *gerousia*, on the basis of what seems to be a reasonable restoration, has become the monstrous σεμνοτάτη καὶ φιλοσέβαστος καὶ κρατίστη τῆς . . . πόλεως ἱερὰ καὶ μεγάλη. While we do not know on what the choice of these adjectives depended, they can hardly have been left to the caprice of the stonemason.

The end of this text is of especial interest. It is restored as follows:

νεοκοροῦ[σα Ἀθηνᾶ  
[τῇ θεῇ] ᾧ ἀσὺλῳ καὶ νεω[κοροῦσα θε-  
ῷ Διονέσῳ· τῷ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ  
αὐτῆς· δειπνιστηρίῳ.

The punctuation is that of the inscription, and gives a little clue to the meaning, but the passage is as suggestive as it is puzzling. The association of Ἀθηνᾶ with ἀσὺλῳ is guaranteed by a coin of Aurelian (another reason for dating the text in his period), and fortified by the αὐτῆς; "the one in her temple"

must refer to Dionysus, who was *synnaos theos*. If the city counted two neocorates for two deities in one temple, we can see how they built their total up to six. The participial construction, as restored, is suggested by the following datives, but the idiom seems exceptional, if not unique, and the nominative of the participles echoes poorly the previous genitive πόλεως. But these are formal difficulties; functional is the problem of δειπνιστηρίῳ. Syntactically this goes with Διονίσιω as δούλῳ with Ἀθηνᾶ, and the same explanation, if one can be found, may do for both. Can the sense be "serving Athena with an asylum and Dionysus, her temple-mate, with a dining room"? The Athena temple or precinct may have possessed the right of asylum, and it may have contained a triclinium for banquets in honor of Dionysus, but this seems a singularly odd way, and place, to say so. The monument is the base for a statue of the Roman Senate, and its location was near the theater, far from the supposed temple of Athena.

An oddity of another sort, no. 32, has been brilliantly explained by J. and L. Robert, *REG* 64 (1951) 193-195; *CRAI* (1951) 254 f. The φόρος of Arcadius, lord of the oecumene, was not a tax, but a forum.

These few texts give a surprising amount of information on the civic structure and the topography of the city (discussed by J. and L. Robert, *loc cit.*). Two fragmentary stones seem to mention a *demiourgos*, and one a *keryx*. The city was divided into four *phylai*, with names derived from local monuments: Μεγαλοπύλαι: from a Great Gate; Τετραπυλῖται: from a quadriga: Τοῦ Μεγάλου Συνεργίου from, perhaps, some large *ergastulum*; and a fourth of unknown name, each with its *gerousia*. It possessed its notables also: Bryonianus Lollianus with his wife Quirinia Patra, of equestrian rank, were honored with monuments by all four tribes. Both were descended from consulars, but his career was military, *doukenarios* and *primipilarios* (the latter term is not in L & S).

No. 8, finally, the only Latin inscription in the group, is very puzzling. If the copy is accurate, no restoration suggests itself, and the editor makes none. It is an imperial dedication by *coh(ors) I Fl(avia) A... roarum*, in Bosch's text. Nevertheless it is very tempting to suggest that the cohort was actually *N[u]midarum*, since this was actually in garrison in Pamphylia in the second century.

Thanking the editors for their prompt report, we must await the results of their future explorations with keen interest.

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**Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis**, Second Series, edited by Herbert Chayyim Youtie and John Garrett Winter. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. L. Michigan Papyri, Vol. VIII). Pp. xxii + 266, pls. 11. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, London 1951. \$12.50.

This latest volume in a distinguished series contains fifty-eight private letters prepared by the two editors; these are mostly of the second century of the Christian era. Professor Youtie alone is responsible for one hundred and forty ostraca of various dates and subjects and has compiled the full and conveniently arranged indices. It is unnecessary to state that editing and publication are exemplary, for the editors are masters of the art. I wonder, nevertheless, if they do not address their commentary a little too exclusively to the specialist. Especially with the ostraca, some brief explanation of terms and institutions might be welcomed even by the specialist, and a volume such as this deserves to be read by the student of antiquity who is not a specialist in papyrology. I refer to such comments as that on the *πιντάκιον* ostraca 990/991. The meaning of this term was discovered by Youtie in 1942 (*TAPA* 73.76) and does not appear in Liddell and Scott. As he forbears to repeat it here, the reader must go and look it up, if he does not remember it.

This is a volume of unusually wide interest. Even the usually dry ostraca yield the arresting assertion: θεὸς οὐκ ἄνθρωπος "Ὁμηρος (1100), as well as some linguistic puzzles. (It is suggested that the seemingly meaningless collection of letters in 1102 is a transliteration of the Demotic text on the ostrakon, not given except in photograph.) Otherwise this section consists of the immensely difficult and valuable but rather unexciting texts of which Youtie is a master: receipts, accounts, memoranda. Curious is 1098: Ἀμμων(ιανὸς) οὐ(ετρανὸς) δοῦλ(ον) καὶ πιστὰ παρέδ(ωκεν), with references to various texts which deal with the pledge on transfer of shares. It was customary in such cases for the owner to hand over to the creditor the documents which constitute his title. In *BGU* 1152 these are called *πιστά*. In this case, however, the veteran handed over both slave and documents, as if it were a sale. No. 1101 is a label: ἀρχαῖα βιβλία καὶ ὁμοιώματα μηδὲ διαβεβλημένων. The editors translate "original papers and copies," with acknowledgments to Dr. E. R. Smothers, and speculate about the meaning of the participle, but *ὁμοιώματα* should mean *similia*, "related documents," as in *P. Fam. Tebt.* 15, 98. May this have marked a jar containing deeds and court decisions, as well as *testimonia* or parallel texts relating to some property "of those not invalid"? Cf. also N. Lewis, *CP* 48, 1953, 53 f. The



last ostrakon, 1111, is the unusual phenomenon of a would-be artistic drawing, perhaps a "Nilotic landscape." Fishes seem represented, in any case.

The great interest of the volume lies in the letters, which are to a large extent to, from, or about Egyptians in the Roman military service. They are professionals, and constitute a society of their own, with horizons extending from the Euphrates to the Tiber. While they cannot write their own letters, they are able to dictate in both Greek and Latin; possibly the apprentice legionary clerk (λιβράριος λεγεῶνος ἐφ' ἐλπίδων) Apollinarius himself wrote nos. 465/466. They marry, and have a wide circle of family and friends. They devote more attention to various business deals than to their occasional periods of action, but they report with glee advancement which brings them immunity from menial duties. Transfer between the various branches of the service, fleet, auxilia, and legions, seems relatively easy. They are Claudii and Sempronii and Julii, but do not use praenomina; probably they had Roman rather than Latin status.

Julius Apollinarius writes to his mother Tasucharium (465) and to his father Julius Sabinus (466) in February and March of A.D. 107. He is serving under Claudius Severus, *consularis*; called also *consularis legionis* and *hegemon*, and probably the provincial governor. He was assigned to the "cohort in Bostra." In his capacity as *principalis*, he is freed from manual labor, while all the rest are pounding stones all the day long, building roads, probably: this in the process of organization of the Province of Arabia after its conquest by the governor of Syria, A. Cornelius Palma, a year or two before. It is a pity that Apollinarius neglected to name the legion under Severus' command, for he would have solved an old problem of Roman military history.

Apollinarius uses the terminology of the Roman camp. His language abounds in Latinisms, notably the common *ἐργασίαν διδόναι* for *operam dare*, and he sends greetings to πάντας τοὺς κολληγὰς σου; he is an interesting instance of Romanization, particularly since he was serving in the army in a clerical capacity. But perhaps the major interest of his letters is the light they throw on the economic aspects of Roman military life.

The letters contain the usual protestations of concern and affection for relatives and friends. "Whenever I think of you, I can neither eat nor drink, but burst out crying" (465, 9/10). He has been paid, and thought to send his mother a present: "here are fine clothes and ebony and pearls and unguents." In return he would like some coarse linens (λίνα στυπία), sent through a friend in Alexandria, for he could not get them there, and it is becoming very hot. (This seems to show that this letter, at least, was

not sent from Bostra, hardly a market for fashionable goods, and definitely not a hot place in February.) The request is repeated to his father: "send me linens through Sempronius, for merchants come daily to us from Pelusium." Similarly the Roman garrison at Dura, one hundred years later, received its crockery from Egypt (*Excavations at Dura-Europos*, Final Report; D. H. Cox, "Roman Pottery"). Possibly these merchants brought grain, primarily; we may regret that Apollinarius did not know that he was writing for posterity. In any case, I should expect the route to have been from Pelusium to Gaza by sea, and then overland via Jericho and Philadelphia-Amman to Bostra, rather than the much longer route via Suez and Aqaba and up the Wadi el-Araba through Petra, which the editors suggest as another possibility (note on 466, 36/37). It may be that Apollinarius himself had followed the same route, and wrote his mother from Gaza, which was an outlet for the Arabian caravans as well as a natural place to find "Tyrian wares" (465, 18/19). (Gaza is not hot in February, either, of course; but possibly Apollinarius meant only that it would be hot in Bostra later, as, indeed, it would.)

Other Apollinarii appear in the Karanis letters of the second century, but since none of them is dated, there is no chronological evidence for or against the assumption that any of these persons is identical with the writer of 465/466. Only in one instance do the editors mention the place of finding of the papyri: 490 and 491 "were found in a large house," previously described in an excavation report, and obviously belong together, since they record the process of a recruit on his way to Rome and thence to Misenum, where he joined the fleet. These are addressed to his mother, called Taesis and Taesium. On the basis of the proposition that a man has but one mother, and the mother of Julius Apollinarius was called Tasucharium, the two Apollinarii should be different — unless Tasucharium is a hypocoristic for Taesis, or vice-versa.

On the other hand, 486/487 are letters between Apollinarius and his brother Sempronius Clemens. A Clemens is mentioned in 465 and a Sempronius in 466; the editors reject the identification of these (note on 465, 43), but in the Index identify the Apollinarii, because of the apparent mention of Julius Apollinarius' father, Julius Sabinus, in 486, 3/4. And yet according to 487, 3, Apollinarius was in Rome.

Other letters are addressed to an Apollinarius by persons who sometimes call him "brother." 496 is from an Apol. . . . s (probably the Apollonius of 497, 22), who discovered that the addressee had been in Bacchias in the Fayum, and complains that he had written an entire roll of papyrus to him with barely



an answer. 497-500 also imply that Apollinarius was in Egypt, and concern domestic matters. Three writers call Apollinarius "brother": Gemellus (498), Sabinianus (499), and 500 (Rullius), but two of these are addressed on the verso to Julius Apollinarius (called *veteranus* in 498), and the third allows the heading to be restored with this full name. 501 was found with 500, and may be from Apollinarius; it mentions a trip through Syria, Asia, and Achaëa to Rome, and 500 mentions a shipment of cotton goods (from India?) from Rome. The writer of 501 is interested in purple dye, recalling the concern of the writer of 465 for "Tyrian wares."

It is obviously impossible to insist that all these Apollinariii are one man. The documents may not have been found together, nor be of the same date. Nevertheless there seems to be nothing impossible in the assumption, according to the editors' statements. Apollinarius would have been a man who knew how to make the most of his opportunities. Born into a partly Romanized family in Egypt about A.D. 80, he presently enlisted in the fleet, going to Italy for the purpose. Already literate in Greek, he acquired some Latin, and did not fail to establish business connections. Subsequently he transferred to the army, and was assigned to the legion in Arabia, doing what business he could as he went along. It may well be that the coarse linens for which he asked were for sale to his fellow soldiers. When he retired from the army, he settled in the Fayum, but continued his business connections with Alexandria and the Levant and Italy. Many persons called him "brother."

This would make him an interesting counterpart of the Claudius Terentianus of the correspondence 467-481, even if we refrain from imagining that the latter's sister Tasucharium was Apollinarius' mother — again, perhaps, no impossibility. A Sempronius Clemens, *frumentarius*, occurs suspiciously also in 472, 15/16. This correspondence is notable for the fact that six of the letters are in Latin, and well preserved. One hundred years earlier than the Latin documents from Dura, they show an earlier form of the same script, varying with the writer, but moving toward greater ease and fluency.

If Apollinarius presents us with, possibly, two names for the same mother, Terentianus presents us with two fathers, and twice (467, 471) mentions one in a letter to the other. Probably, as suggested by Lewis and Taubenschlag (*JJP* 5, 1950, 268), Ptolemaeus was his real father, Claudius Tiberianus his father by adoption. This last was military himself, a *speculator*, and transmitted letters and goods for his friends as well as for the government. Like the father of Apollinarius, Tiberianus enrolled his son in the fleet, whence he later transferred to a legion.

This cost money, whether for bribes or something else; cf. 468, 36-38: "spero me frugaliter viciturum et in cohortem transferri."

Like Apollinarius, Terentianus and his circle were as much concerned with business as with soldiering, or more. He mentions to his father on one occasion the trouble he had had in suppressing a *θέρυλλον* και *ἀκατάστατον* in Alexandria, but these actions seem to have occupied his attention as little as they took up his time. Other things were more important. In 467, he acknowledges receipt of "a cloak, a tunic, and the girdled clothes," but complains that they were of poor quality. He leaves soon for Syria, and certainly intended to sell the things. He appeals for "a battle sword, a pickaxe, a grappling iron, two of the best lances obtainable." In return he has sent "two jars of olives," probably smuggled through customs, which would fetch a high price in Egypt. Similarly, in 468, he has received numerous items from his father, and sends things in return, including glassware and papyrus; numerous military people and their families send greeting, and it may be this time that it was Tiberianus who was out of Egypt.

It would be endless to list the interesting matters in this group of texts. No. 473 illuminates the practice of subsisting soldiers on *epimēnia* sent them by relatives. In 475, Tiberianus is asked to report, in the case of a deceased, who was heir and when the will would be opened. In 476, Terentianus writes to his father that he would not "buy a woman" without his approval; the editors make no suggestions, while Taubenschlag has proposed to see an instance of self-sale into slavery, but since the soldiers could not contract legal Roman marriages, this probably means no more than that the writer was contemplating marriage according to some local form. In 477, there may be a reference to the registration of documents, but the passage is obscure; the rendering "lacking him in whose name the writ is drawn" has to confront the fact that contracts or deeds for registration are bilateral. In 479 we have the familiar situation that letters from one official to another had to be delivered by the benefiting party. And, as a human touch, in 478, our Terentianus, ordered to some distasteful duty, was taken violently ill and unexpectedly but providentially could not leave camp for five days. Subsequently he recovered, thanks to Sarapis.

In the texts which may be connected with Terentianus or Apollinarius by no stretch of the imagination, there occur other matters of interest. No. 514, of the third century, mentions the recovery of a deceased soldier's *deposita*. No. 511 is the now well-known letter of Ptolemaeus to his father, concerning deliveries of fuel for the *Kleine* of Sarapis. Ptolemaeus has become *agoranomos* to avoid the costs of

being a novice (*siopetikhos*). And in no. 502, there is a unique reference to the shrine of Isis' hair at Coptus. Of interest to the historian of the Greek language are some of the later texts, notably 514 and 516, excellent examples of the Koine.

Few publications of papyri in recent years contain as much of interest, as none has been better edited. The volume is a tribute to the richness of the Michigan papyrus collection, and to the skill of her scholars.

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**Roman Sources of Christian Art**, by Emerson H. Swift. Pp. xx + 248, fig. 66, pls. 48, frontispiece. Columbia University Press, New York 1951. \$10.00.

The book before us is by a classicist who jocularly calls himself a renegade because of his interest in later art, and he already has to his credit a notable volume on St. Sophia in Constantinople. This great monument, which sums up five hundred years of Christian building in the Mediterranean area, was built by people who called themselves Romaioi, and in many ways it may fairly be considered a masterpiece of late-Roman building.

The extension of this basic idea to Christian art in more arbitrary fashion calls up doubts. The chapter headings are: Pagan Ancestors of the Christian Basilicas; Central and Cruciform Churches; Christian Symbolism and the Narrative Style; The Roman Heritage in Byzantine Building; Arches, Vaults, and Domes; The Dome on Pendentives; Colored Marbles and Gold Mosaic; Atmosphere, Color, and Form; Frontality and "Oriental" Colorism; Spatial Concepts. On each subject there is a relentless analysis such as only a classicist or a theologian can make, ending in a Q.E.D. that the thing is Roman, at least as far as its usefulness or effectiveness goes. Strzygowski is demolished, especially for his dubious assumptions, and so, in lesser measure, is Baldwin Smith's work *The Dome*; St. Sophia itself is definitely connected (not unreasonably) with Old Rome because the architect Anthemios' brother Alexandros lived there. The whole Christian community is said to be "largely Roman."

Here the historian is likely to say, as Galileo did, "E pur si muove." How Roman? Christianity is, after all, an oriental religion. By the time monumental Christian buildings were beginning to be built, the Roman State was a despotism organized on the oriental model, and it is manifest that the outworn classicism of the former time had been transformed and reinvigorated by a tide of influence from the East. It was not the Roman oneness in the late Empire which made it interesting, but rather

the various separatisms of peoples and thinking within the apparent unity. The stately Persians to the East, and the subtle ever-Hellenic Greeks within the Empire were never really swallowed up by the practical organizers and soldiers of Rome. Greeks who were Romans because the soldiery had subjugated their beautiful homeland did wonderful things for Roman culture, and Roman architecture in fact produced some of its finest works when Hellenic influence was strongest. The West-Roman area, which remained more or less classic, required about five hundred years to absorb the barbarian newcomers and to become creative again. Instead, the East-Roman area, in closer contact with the Orient, early took on new life, and it must be that oriental contacts had something to do with its fecundity.

What has been lost is too often out of mind. In a juridical approach like Mr. Swift's, little account can be taken of the immense numbers of lost monuments in the Near East. Consequently the preserved and better known monuments of the West count for more than their true value when marshalled according to Mr. Swift's rules of evidence. Now that the last Christian family has left Antioch, where Christians were first given that name, who remembers the flourishing days and innumerable contacts of the Early Christian "Patriarchate of Antioch the Great and All the East" which included Thrace, the Carpathian region, Persia (with fifty bishoprics), and parts of India? If we could explore the activity of that Roman and extra-Roman Patriarchate, partly inherited by Constantinople, many Early Christian problems would be easier to solve. And it might be shown that Strzygowski was partly right, though usually for the wrong reason.

The scholarly world is in Mr. Swift's debt for the short shrift he makes of loose ideologies like Strzygowski's; we have had too many of them, and they have too seldom had the very business-like clinical treatment which Mr. Swift administers. The book is a good book, a useful, well-constructed, informative book, and it should be in every library which is concerned with Christian art. But in it one misses the spirit which transformed classic art into authentically Christian art: that spirit is suffocated by a too-Roman formula.

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**Konstantins Kirche am heiligen Grab in Jerusalem nach den ältesten literarischen Zeugnissen**, by Erik Wistrand. Pp. 55, ills. 3. Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift LVIII 1952: 1. Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag, Göteborg. Sw. Crs. 8.00.

This essay is a new attempt to make an understandable interpretation of the fabulously difficult early descriptions of the buildings in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre. Vincent and Abel, in *Jerusalem* (2 volumes, Paris 1912-14) did a great service in bringing the principal texts together, and presenting a diagrammatic restoration of what they believed the Constantinian works to have been. This restoration, which has been widely reproduced and used, is faulty in that the buildings are not really architectonic in feeling, but the basic form of the Martyrion Basilica and its immediate accessories is clearly correct.

Much debate has centered around the Rotunda of the Anastasis. By a somewhat indulgent interpretation of the texts it may be supposed that it was in the general scheme adopted for the group under Constantine (†337) and already built at the time of St. Cyril's catechetical lectures of 347. Einar Dyggve attacked this idea in *Gravkirken i Jerusalem* (Kopenhagen 1941, = *Studien fra Sprog-og Oldtidsforskning*, No. 186), presenting the view that the Sepulchre stood free in a court surrounded by porticoes—perhaps arched porticoes like those shown in the Sta. Pudenziana mosaic at Rome (391). This work put the fourth-century date of the Rotunda in doubt. It is not certain that the Rotunda is represented on the mosaic, though it may be.

In 1942 I published a study which I made in collaboration with Miss Penelope P. Pattee as illustration—without learned apparatus—in my *Brief Commentary on Early Mediaeval Church Architecture* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press). This represented a very serious effort; the buildings are more realistically shown than in Vincent and Abel, and a post-Constantinian date for the Rotunda is accepted. The study was made with the use of a three-dimensional model which aided greatly in making the architectural problems actual.

Mr. Wistrand understandably missed my reconstruction; in fact his brochure is an excellent guide to the ensemble of archaeological works on the early Sepulchre group; his citations are numerous and conveniently arranged.

Interesting novelties are to be found in Wistrand's re-interpretation and re-assessment of the texts. He accepts the Eusebian text as authentic, and comes to the usual conclusions with regard to the Martyrion Basilica which Constantine built. From Eusebius comes Wistrand's inference that the Calvary Mount was at first considered to be the Omphalos, and only later indicated as the locale of the Passion. He also infers through Eusebius that St. Cyril's expression  $\eta \delta \nu \lambda \alpha \delta \epsilon \kappa \lambda \epsilon \sigma \iota \alpha \tau \eta \varsigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \delta \Sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \omicron \varsigma \Theta \epsilon \omicron \upsilon \text{'Anastasews}$  applies to the entire Sepulchre group. The Rotunda of the Anastasis, as such, receives no definite early mention.

This fact and various text references lead Wistrand to postulate a church of the familiar basilican type over the Sepulchre, as a predecessor to the Rotunda of the Anastasis.

Yielding to temptation, this reviewer adds his observation that soundings in the region of the Anastasis seem to show that the living rock, cut down by Constantine in order to free the tomb, slopes downward gently toward the south. The slope was supposably for drainage, and it corroborates the conclusion that the court about the tomb was intended at first to be open to the sky.

With regard to the Rotunda it may be said that the acceptance of the word "basilica" is very vague. It is usually applied to angular buildings made up of porticus elements, and roofed. Its use to indicate a church includes a play on the idea of a "royal house" for the King ( $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \varsigma$ ) of Kings. Apparently the word could mean simply "a hall" because so many halls had the form which we call basilican. Under this loose usage the Rotunda might be referred to by a non-technical writer as a basilica. In this case, Wistrand's basilican predecessor for the Rotunda would not have to be invented. If, as Wistrand indicates, the terminology of the various parts of the Sepulchre group varied with time, then the complications of the problem of the Holy Sites are immeasurably increased.

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**Archaic Chinese Jades from the Collection of Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein**, by Alfred Salmony, Ph.D. Pp. xiii + 279, pls. 107; 1 color. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1952.

The Sonnenschein collection of jades, one of the largest and finest to be found in the West, has been bequeathed to the Oriental Department of the Chicago Art Institute. More than eight hundred of the over thirteen hundred pieces forming the collection are beautifully reproduced and carefully described by Dr. Salmony who still had the privilege of Mrs. Sonnenschein's collaboration. The collection covers practically all aspects of Chinese jade carving between the Shang and Han dynasties.

In his introduction (p. xii) the author states that all jades down to 600 B.C. or later were funerary gifts. This does not necessarily mean that they were made as such, for the grave. However, we can safely agree that they all had a ritual or magic character.

The author also warns us right away that he prefers hazardous statements to evasion of the problem of attribution. And indeed, he makes this come true. Every single piece is neatly attributed to one of the

historical-stylistic periods. This reviewer finds it particularly difficult to follow the author when he dates an undecorated piece solely on the grounds of material used and cutting or drilling technique. This also goes to a certain extent for decorated pieces, particularly in the difficult case of dividing Shang and Early Chou. (In the text, p. 67, the author calls his attributions tentative.) Shang pieces are supposed to have "a harmonious and tranquil contour" (p. 17); Early Chou ones to show a certain carelessness in the choice of material and a certain loss of technical ability (p. 66). The first point is more than debatable. As to the second, we must consider the fact that in the art of bronze-casting no technical degeneration can be observed during this period. Less carefully finished pieces can also show local or individual weaknesses. The technical retrogression of the Middle Chou bronzes we can expect to find reflected also in the jades. When it comes to undecorated pieces like (ritual) hoes or flat-axes, here as in the earlier instances it is surely difficult to distinguish a degenerated piece from a primitive one of perhaps pre-historic times (p. 137).

Salmony's preference for the name Shang instead of Yin is justified by common usage but not by literary research (p. 3), as Karlgren has shown (*A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection* pp. 3-4). Incidentally, Karlgren's dates (*re.* p. 3) are also those of Dubs and represent the latest research on the question.

The author dates the earliest pi and ts'ung symbols to the Middle Chou period and, aided by the shape of some possible proto-ts'ungs, disclaims the Wu Ta-ch'eng-Laufer-Karlgren theory that the ya-hsing symbol depicts a ts'ung (pp. 9, 10, 70, 138). However, even if we admit Salmony's dates for the ts'ung, which depend upon the scarce existing excavation data, we can retain Karlgren's well-argued theory. Karlgren says (*BMFEA* 2, p. 32) that the ts'ung which was used as a symbol in the grave, as a present to queens and princesses, as steelyard weight, or as offering to the Earth was a reproduction of the "shih" in jade. Mention of the jade ts'ung in literature does not go back further than the Chou Li — which would mean even Late Chou or Huai-style period. He also says that the word shih consists of the Key 113, added later, and of shih-stone as phonetic (*l.c.* p. 30). On the following page he asks, rhetorically, why under the circumstance the character indicates stone. It does not, necessarily, if, that is, shih-stone only is a phonetic loan. (Or is shih 113, common in religious words, the phonetic and root, while shih-stone is the later added key? This mix-up apparently is not possible, if we follow Karlgren's *Grammata Serica*.) The stone-chamber or stone-box as explanation of the shih is advocated

only in the third century A.D., the ancestral tablets in stone in the second. We could, however, still invoke all the early quotations, from the Tso-chuan (*l.c.* p. 31), especially the one where the lost shih are found in a bag, if we assume that the shih were made of wood like the phallic ancestral tablet they enclosed. A "tight-fitting envelope" made of stone, for a wooden object, sounds to us somewhat unlikely anyway. To sum up, the jade or stone ts'ung may well date from the Middle or even Late Chou period only, while its wooden prototype, the shih, could already be depicted in the ya-hsing symbol of the Shang dynasty.

Very often it is extremely difficult if not impossible to find an exact term for an object as we cannot establish its practical use or that of its prototype. The author, striving for accuracy, often proposes names which I find difficult to accept, or which are open to discussion. This goes for the handles (p. 11), the ceremonial cup-stands (p. 9), the leg for a receptacle (pl. XVIII, 1), the blade-shaped fish-scraper (p. 67) which now is pushed down from the Shang to the Early Chou period, the cord-holder (p. 69), etc. He is, of course, right in discarding the astronomical explanations of Wu Ta-ch'eng-Laufer-Michel for the flanged flat ring with tooth-projections (p. 69). As to the scabbard-chape (p. 176) perhaps it is a consolation to the author to learn that this reviewer also was completely stumped by these pieces when he catalogued the Hardt Collection of jades some twelve years ago. He took them not for dagger-handles but for pendants in the form of degenerated miniature hatchets! It might be possible that the thin and fragile ko's (p. 8) were mounted on some light and perishable material like bamboo or wood. The tooth-like flanges (pl. IX, 2) do not seem to be made for the grip of the hand; nor does the bird's-head (pl. X, 4). The disc-segments as pendants (p. 10) could be explained by the use of broken pieces. The monster-face (pl. XXXVI, 2) surely looks later than Early Chou. The reviewer shares the author's reservations concerning XXXVI, 9. An article on new archaeological discoveries ("China Reconstructs" No. 4, July-Aug. 1952), illustrates a Late Chou gilt-bronze belt-hook, excavated at Hui-hsien, which is inlaid with three split ring-discs of the type shown on pl. LXXXIX, nos. 5, 6, etc. A more complicated open-work jade in the shape of a curved dragon, set in a garment hook of bronze, gold, and silver, is in the Buckingham Collection of the Chicago Art Institute (*Chinese Bronzes*, pl. LX). Another book published by White (*Tombs of Old Loyang*, pl. LVII, no. 137) has a jade inlay in the shape of an S-shaped dragon, similar to pl. LXXXIII, no. 6; two in the Stoclet Collection (*Visser*, nos. 63-64) are inlaid with small rectangular and other



plaques like pl. LXXXVIII, nos. 10-11. Incidentally, the article quoted above also illustrates a musical stone excavated at An-yang, in grey limestone (no size given), beautifully decorated in what seems to be thread relief with a dragon or tiger.

All through the pieces are carefully described and the decor patterns patiently disentangled. Each period is introduced by a chapter dealing with its general and particular aspects, with references to the illustrations. A good bibliography brings us to the end of the book. This is a beautiful collection presented in a beautiful publication. Every student and art-lover will be grateful to the late Mr. and Mrs. Edward Sonnenschein, to Dr. Salmony, and to Charles Fabens Kelley and The Art Institute of Chicago.

ASCHWIN LIPPE

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

**A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection**, by *Bernhard Karlgren*. Pp. 228, pls. 114, figs. 75. The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1952. \$25.00.

This collection, lovingly and carefully assembled through twenty years, is one of the most important and most beautiful of its kind in the Western world. In 1950 it was bequeathed to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts which had housed it already for quite some time. Mr. Pillsbury was able to secure the services of the outstanding authority in the field of Chinese archaeology, Bernard Karlgren, for the purpose of writing a catalogue of this collection. We are doubly grateful to him for thus having made his treasures available to students and art lovers all over the world. We are also grateful to Dr. Karlgren and to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts for the way in which they executed this assignment.

The 103 items are beautifully reproduced on 114 large plates. In addition to these there are 75 small illustrations in the text, with drawings of design-motives, with photographs of details and with rubbings of inscriptions.

The terse and concise text begins with some "Preliminary Remarks on Chronology." In these Karlgren first argues his use of the name Yin instead of Shang for the earliest historical dynasty. He then goes on to refute parts of Ch'en Meng-chia's chronological scheme and to establish his own up-to-date chronological chart and his terminology which includes the term "Huai-style period" (ca. 600—ca. 222 B.C.) instead of "Late Chou."

There follows a detailed description of every piece, including discussion and interpretation of the

inscription, if there is any. The bronzes are chronologically grouped according to Karlgren's well-known criteria which do not include analysis of the stylistic development during the Yin (Shang) and Early Chou periods. In the case of each vessel type, Karlgren examines the question whether the term ordinarily used for it is substantiated by early literary evidence. This reviewer is particularly appreciative of this painstaking and clarifying piece of research. After having established (p. 35) that the term *yu* actually refers to the asymmetrical vessel (fig. 20), Karlgren points out the problem that this type of vessel, as illustrated in early bronze and oracle-bone inscriptions, is materially known to us only with Middle Chou or Huai-style decor (the Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses one of the former, 49.135.9). This can be easily explained by assuming that before these periods the vessel was made not of bronze but of a perishable material. It may have been a gourd as its shape seems to indicate.

Discussing the terms *kuang* and *ih* and the corresponding vessels (p. 89), Karlgren convincingly refutes Wang Kuo-wei and suggests the use of *ih*, also in place of *kuang*. For the hybrid vessels of the Huai-style period he wisely recommends to discard the use of the traditional Chinese terms altogether.

The decorative elements are labelled and classified according to the groups established previously by the author. He adds an interesting point in claiming the dragon as ancestor for the so-called "square with crescents" and discarding Hentze's references to lunar mythology (p. 35). Complicated stylized decor-patterns of the Huai-style period are patiently disentangled and their zoomorphic origins clarified (Nos. 51, 58, 59 et al.). The legs of a Huai-style ting are delightfully characterized as "dachshund-like" (p. 134). Karlgren discusses (p. 17) some interpretations of the so-called *ya-hsing*, a symbol constituting one of his Yin (Shang) period criteria. He sticks to Wu Ta-ch'eng's identification with the *ts'ung* jade of the Chou Li, pronounces it *ts'ung* and asserts that it means "ancestral-temple object." This theory is under attack from Dr. Salmony who claims that no *ts'ung* jade of the Shang (Yin) period does or did exist and that its earliest known prototypes look too different to have been meant by the *ya-hsing* symbol. For a discussion of this problem I refer to my review of Salmony's catalogue of the Sonnenschein jades. Here I only want to point out the probable relationship between the *ya-hsing* and the cross-shaped openings in the hollow foot of certain bronze vessels (i.e. Pillsbury Nos. 25, 26, 28). The author also discusses (p. 56) the puzzling character *lü*, often occurring in bronze inscriptions, for which he suggests the meaning "sacrificial." As to the inscription of No. 1, there is a wine-can ("*yu*") in the Metropolitan



Museum of Art (49.135.7; Trübner pls. 20-21) which has a related one, with three-pillared house and sheep inside the bow, in what looks like Early Chou script.

Some additional references: a vessel very similar to No. 23, the handle missing and with the owls' beaks turned down, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (43.28). An owl-shaped vessel close to No. 41 is owned by the Hon. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, Dumbarton Oaks. The Chicago Art Institute has a Middle Chou p'an with dragon handles which also does not rest on its foot but is supported by three little humans, male and female (29.647 *re* No. 46). A buffalo nearly identical (also in size) with No. 90 is in the Stoclet Collection; a winged dragon similar to No. 94, in the Collection of Mr. A. Schoenlicht; another in that of Mr. E. Erickson.

It would be impossible to point out those bronzes which are unusual or unique in form or decoration, those which are superbly beautiful and perfectly cast, or those which combine all elements mentioned without enumerating practically every single item of the collection. Special mention should be made of the group of bronzes which can only be classified as sculpture and which also are of extraordinary quality and interest. All in all, the great and unequalled art of early Chinese bronze-casting has been honored by a fine monument.

In expressing our appreciation of this superb publication, we must not forget to mention Mr. Russell A. Plimpton and Mrs. Edward H. Sirich who were instrumental both in helping to assemble the collection and to publish it in this ideal form.

There is one more point which this reviewer wants to mention. Karlgren's Catalogue once again makes it perfectly clear that there is no Chinese archaeology — as there is no Chinese art history — without sinology. This would not be worth mentioning in the field of classical archaeology but, alas, it still is in that happy playground of the amateur, the Far East.

ASCHWIN LIPPE

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

**American Indians in the Pacific. The Theory behind the Kon-Tiki Expedition**, by Thor Heyerdahl. Pp. xv + 823, pls. 91 (8 in color), numerous text figures, maps 11. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London 1952. 70 shillings.

In a massive, excellently presented volume (printed in Sweden by Victor Petterson), the Norwegian scholar and explorer Heyerdahl treats in detail of several lines of evidence and argument leading to or appearing to support his hypothesis that the Polynesians came in large part from America, down-

stream from the Northwest Coast to Hawaii and, earlier, by raft from Peru. Unorthodox and startling, this idea is unacceptable to many who do incline to trans-Pacific contacts in the other (more difficult) direction, as well as to the conservative isolationist wing. And admittedly there are difficulties and flaws, discrepancies not fully explained away. But in the standard theory that the Polynesians came into the open Pacific eastward out of the Indies (most often specified is Java) or from an original home somewhere on the Asiatic mainland, there are at least as important or as numerous gaps and impracticabilities or unlikely coincidences.

Heyerdahl first devotes a chapter to the deficiencies of the orthodox view and then presents a detailed and impressive argument for arrival of the late Maori-Polynesians or Tonga-fiti in Hawaii, and thence across central Polynesia to New Zealand, from the Northwest Coast of North America, and specifically from Wakashan territory. These first 178 pages are perhaps the best part of the book. The significance of the small black predecessors, the Menhune, subjugated by the late "true" Polynesians (and by the original Chamorros in the Marianas), is played far down, and the numerous and striking comparisons with Peru are tied up with a Caucasian-like, red-haired, light-skinned group supposed to have been the fair and bearded gods of Middle America and Tiahuanaco; this additional touch does not help make the basic idea credible for Americanists.

The sections on botanical evidence for trans-Pacific contacts, material culture analogies between Polynesia and South America, and aboriginal Peruvian navigation are very good. The final section deals with traditions and myths, and comparisons of names; there is no summation to pull it all together into a coherent story.

ERIK K. REED

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

**Les civilisations précolombiennes**, by Henri Lehmann. Pp. 127, figs. 18. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1953.

The civilizations treated are those of the Mesoamerican area, the Circum-Caribbean area, and the Andean area, after a section on racial origins and early man ("Peopling and prehistory of America"), followed by a few pages on "Irradiations of the great civilizations" (covering only the northern part of the Southwestern U.S., and the Diaguite and Atacameño groups to the south), and a two-page chapter on Amazonian civilizations. A general summary of essential data and established ideas, this

little book has evidently drawn on recent publications as well as Lehmann's extensive background of knowledge but is naturally behind current thinking on many points. It is descriptive rather than analytical, not discussing to any extent questions of sources of origin and sequences of development or even of relationships between major groups.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

ERIK K. REED

**The Civilizations of Ancient America**, Selected Papers of the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists, Edited by Sol Tax, Introduction by Wendell C. Bennett. Pp. 328, figs. 69. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1951. \$7.50.

This volume is one of three containing selected papers presented before the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists held in New York from September 5-12, 1949, the other two being entitled *Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America* and *Acculturation in the Americas*. The volume under review is a milestone among publications dealing with Middle and South American pre-history. For the first time the latest achievements in both fields are presented within the covers of one book. Special praise is due Dr. Sol Tax for his excellent job of editing this publication and for presenting it to the public in very nearly record time.

The *Introduction*, by Dr. Wendell C. Bennett, gives a general framework to the papers included in this volume and sets them into historical perspective. Bennett reviews the latest studies and interests in "Nuclear America," points out certain aspects that merit further investigation, and urges the utilization of modern techniques in order to speed the mechanical aspects of the study so that more emphasis can be put on the cultural factors underlying the material evidence.

The thirty-seven papers included in this volume cover a wide range of topics and are arranged geographically within the areas of Mesoamerica, the Intermediate regions, and the Central Andes. In the fourth and final section are presented the papers which contain comparative material from the whole of Nuclear America. The first papers of each section deal with the area as a general whole. They are followed by papers dealing with excavations and finally by papers dealing with general topics within the area.

Section I — *Mesoamerica* — contains eighteen papers. The first one, written by Pedro Armillas, deals with the evolution of technology, religion, and social economics within this area. He recognizes

three stages, which he designates Formative, Classic, and Historic (the reviewer would prefer the word Proto-Historic), and presents an excellent survey. It is interesting to note that the latest excavations in Guatemala seem to verify Armillas' supposition that the funerary mound definitely antedates the temple mound. In the next paper Eric Thompson discusses aquatic symbols common to various religious centers during the Classic period in Mesoamerica. The symbols which he believes show an underlying unity within the Classic cultures and are derived from a common ancestral culture of the Formative Horizon are: blue, or turquoise, the screech-owl or moan bird, and the jaguar. All three elements are closely associated with the rain gods and as such they were important features of the sun-dry centers of Mesoamerica.

In papers three, four, and five, Noguera, Müller, and Bernal, respectively, discuss the results of their latest excavations at Xochicalco, Morales, and Acapulco, all three of which sites are located in central Mexico. In the sixth paper, Paul B. Sears suggests that the rise and fall of populations and empires within the Valley of Mexico have been profoundly influenced by the changing availability of moisture. His interesting study is based on an analysis of pollen profiles. The author of Paper 7, Rémy Bastien, discusses an interesting theory concerning the possible misreconstruction of the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan by Leopoldo Batres, who was in charge of this project between the years 1904 and 1910, and suggests a four-bodied rather than the present five-bodied structure. C. A. Burland's paper dealing with several Mixtec codices finally concludes with the statement that the artistic and symbolistic expressions in these codices are closely related to Toltec art.

The next paper, by George Brainerd, discusses the early ceramic horizons of the Formative period in Yucatan. This study makes it clear that, contrary to earlier belief, a number of archaeological sites in Yucatan contain substantial amounts of pottery from the Formative period. Brainerd breaks down the Formative period into early, middle, and late; ceramic material from the early Formative being at this moment represented only from the Mani cenote. Late Formative pottery was present at practically all of the archaeological sites which he sampled. He also found evidence, though meagre, suggesting that the building of large religious centers began during the middle Formative period in Yucatan and that this pattern continued until the Mexican invasion about A.D. 1000.

Joel Canby's paper describes the results of his excavation at Yurumela, Spanish Honduras. He has added an earlier and hitherto unknown ceramic

phase to the archaeology of this region which he has designated "eo-archaic." He believes that his next stage, the proto-archaic, is equivalent to the early Formative in Guatemala and in Yucatan. This classification is based primarily on the diagnostic of pattern burnishing. If Canby's stratigraphic sequence is correct, his eo-archaic stage is the earliest ceramic horizon known in Mesoamerica. His assignment of the Ulua-Yojoa ceramic complex to the people occupying that area at the time of the Conquest is, however, on very shaky ground.

In the following paper John Longyear gives an historical interpretation of Copan archaeology during the Archaic, Early Classic, Full Classic, and Post-Classic periods. He does not attempt to explain the sudden abandonment of Copan but the reviewer feels that this may have been part of the same "chain-reaction" that passed through the whole of the Maya area, presumably due to a wide spread revolt against the priestly hierarchy. E. M. Shook's paper on the present status of research on the Pre-Classic horizon in Guatemala is an important contribution to our knowledge of the Formative stage in Mesoamerica, in spite of the fact that the results of recent excavations in the Guatemalan Highlands have somewhat altered his ceramic sequence. The reviewer feels that the Pre-Classic Highland Guatemalans were not forced southeastward by the people responsible for the Early Classic period, which is Shook's theory, but were simply absorbed by them, as can be seen by the continuity of certain ceramic traits and by the revival of many Pre-Classic cultic traits during the Late Classic period. Termer in his paper on the density of population in the Maya Empires suggests drastic reduction of the numbers somewhat loosely published in previous reports, both for the Southern and Northern Maya region. Tatiana Proskouriakoff reports on some non-Classic traits in the sculpture of Yucatan which she feels may have been derived from outside influence during Pre-Toltec times. This theory suggests that outside influences reached this region earlier than the supposed Toltec migration.

A. Barrera Vásquez, discussing the books of Chilam Balam, of Mani, Tizimin, and Chumayel, reaches the conclusion that the civilization which we call Maya was really only an incident in the life of the Maya farmer who still lives today as did his ancestors of the Formative period. The papers of E. Wylls Andrew and Linton Satterthwaite give important correlation tables for the Maya supplementary series and Moon-age inscriptions respectively. Heinrich Berlin discusses the still surviving calendar among the Tzotzil Indians of Chiapas. These three papers are important contributions to our knowledge of the Maya calendar.

The second section — the *Intermediate* regions — contains four papers, of which Gordon Willey's is the most significant. He reports on the first early archaeological material from Panama, which he calls the Monagrillo culture. The material was excavated from a shell mound in the southern part of the country. The complex is probably related to the Formative period in Nuclear America. The other articles, by the late Jacinto Jijon y Caamaño, Edita Jimenez de Muñoz, and Victor Oppenheim, deal with the relation of southern Central America with northeastern South America, the representation of the Sun God, *Sua*, among the Chibchas of Colombia, and about Andean glaciation and its relation to Pre-Colombian man, respectively.

The third section, on the *Central Andes*, contains ten papers. Gordon Willey's paper, as an excellent introduction to the Andean region, gives us the stages by which the social-economic patterns evolved in this region. He recognizes six stages which he calls Early Agricultural, Early and Late Formative, Florescent, and Early and Late Expansionist. In the second paper Jorge Muelle discusses the necessities of Peruvian archaeology. Kroeber, in the third paper, gives an excellent survey of the different great art styles from Chavin to Inca times in ancient South America. H. Newell Wardle discusses at some length a fake Peruvian bonnet at present in the University Museum in Philadelphia. Lothrop presents some important data on the development of southern and northern Peruvian metallurgy and points out that the knowledge of metallurgy must have existed much earlier in this region than in Mesoamerica. Heinrich Doering makes some valuable comparisons between the ceramics of two north coast Peruvian valleys, while Richard Schaedel discusses the differences between major ceremonial and population centers in northern Peru.

Gerdt Kutscher in an illuminating paper concludes that certain figure representations on Chimú vases are actually representations of ritual races in honor of the moon deity rather than processions or messenger runners as was believed previously. Adrian Digby, discussing the technical development of whistling vases in Peru, concludes that diffusion of this trait, if any, has taken place from the Andes to Middle America. Against this theory is the fact that whistling vessels are present in the Formative period in Mesoamerica while they do not occur until the Nazca and Chimú periods of the Florescent horizon in Peru. It can be added that whistles, although not of the hydraulic variety, are frequent in the very earliest periods of the Formative and persist to the present day in Mesoamerica while whistles, except for the whistling vase itself, have never played an important role in Peru. The last paper

of this section, written by John Howland Rowe, deals with five full-length Colonial portraits of Inca noblemen. These show an astonishing persistence of Pre-Colombian costumes and symbolism until late in the eighteenth century.

The last and *Comparative* section of this book consists of five papers widely differing in subject matter. Duncan Strong, in the first, discusses the ever-present question of whether the cultural resemblances in Nuclear America are due to parallelism or diffusion. He reaches the conclusion that the resemblances in all known stages of development of culture are due to original historical unity and indirect diffusion in later times rather than to independent, parallel, or convergent evolution. He accompanies his paper with a useful though already somewhat outdated correlation table of ceramic phases in Nuclear America. Richard Thurnwald's paper gives some interesting generalizations based on the assumption of the "psychic unity of mankind," discussing certain aspects of the role of political organization in the development of man in the Old World which he feels can be applied to the New World situation. Emilia Romero, on the basis of rather meagre stylistic evidence, attempts to find some connection between the "Danzante" figurines of Monte Alban, Mexico, and the figures on the monoliths of Cerro Sechin in Peru. Henri Lehmann discusses several curious clay figurines from regions as widely separated as Ecuador and Colima, Mexico. All are represented as being bound by ropes to a couch. In a persuasive discussion he tries to prove that they do not represent prisoners or victims about to be sacrificed but sick people who suffer from pain and are bound to prevent them from injuring themselves or others.

This fourth section is climaxed by a most interesting paper by Heine-Geldern and Ekholm. They go even farther in their search for significant parallels, and find several in the symbolic art expressions of southern Asia and Mesoamerica. This new trend to look beyond the shores of Nuclear America is a most welcome one, at least in the opinion of the reviewer. Many of the architectural features and artistic styles which appear suddenly and without precedent toward the end of the Classic period in Mesoamerica can hardly be explained either by diffusion from other parts of Nuclear America or by independent invention. Although the authors' theories await confirmation, they have most certainly brought new color to the American archaeological scene and may some day open up a whole new panorama.

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**The Spiro Mound** by Henry W. Hamilton, with a preface by James B. Griffin, and including "An Interpretation of the Place of Spiro in South-eastern Archaeology" by James B. Griffin and "Textile Fabrics from the Spiro Mound" by Charles C. Willoughby. *THE MISSOURI ARCHAEOLOGIST*, Volume 14 (Whole Volume). Pp. 276, pls. 152. Columbia, Missouri, October 1952.

The sad story of the looting of the great Spiro mound is well known to American archaeologists. Public and private collections throughout the country contain examples of the almost fabulous materials excavated from the site by commercial diggers during the early 1930's. The abundance of the objects, and their richness, led some men to doubt their authenticity until the excavations of the University of Oklahoma in 1934 furnished the proof that at Spiro there had existed, in late prehistoric times, a cultural and religious center of great wealth, with inhabitants who were superb craftsmen.

Mr. Henry W. Hamilton, of Marshall, Missouri, saw some of the Spiro material while the commercial digging was in progress and heard accounts of the quantity of artifacts which were then being taken from the "Temple Mound." As many others were doing at the same time, Mr. Hamilton deplored the sad state of affairs and decided to do something about it. He and his wife set themselves the task of locating as many Spiro artifacts as possible in order to record them and thus prevent an almost complete loss of knowledge of the artifactual material from the site.

The task was long and difficult. A few good-sized collections existed, such as that at the University of Arkansas, but most of the Spiro material was dissipated in lots of a few pieces each. Slowly the Hamiltons collected information, notes, and photographs. They interviewed the men who had done the digging, and others who had visited the site while work was in progress. The manuscript of the work was first ready for publication in 1939 but for various reasons failed to get as far as a printing establishment until the Missouri Archaeological Society undertook the assignment in 1952.

A comparable volume describing Spiro artifacts in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, has been published (E. K. Burnett, *The Spiro Mound Collection in the Museum*, and Forrest E. Clements, *Historical Sketch of the Spiro Mound*, Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. XIV, 1945), and a comprehensive report on the University of Oklahoma excavations is still in preparation.

*The Spiro Mound* is a substantial contribution to



Mississippi Valley archaeology. It contains a concise and dispassionate account of the Pocola Mining Company (a loose association of six men who dug the mound), descriptions of the mound and of the various types of artifacts removed from it, and 152 plates of photographs and line drawings which illustrate the artifacts. James B. Griffin wrote the preface for the volume and a short chapter in which the place of the Spiro site in Southeastern archaeology is discussed, and the book is completed by a posthumously published chapter on the Spiro textiles by Charles Willoughby.

In the preface Griffin discusses, briefly, the contributions made to archaeology by non-professionals. To this I wish to add my thought that too much distinction is made, in many fields of endeavor, between professional and non-professional; the terms "layman" and "amateur" are tossed about with considerable abandon and, usually, with little meaning. The fact that a man is paid to do a job does not guarantee first rate results, but this collation of information regarding Spiro mound and the artifacts found within it, done for love and not for pay, is first rate — it is a "professional" job by a genuine "amateur" in the true and best sense.

CHARLIE R. STEEN

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

**Prehistoric Southwesterners from Basketmaker to Pueblo**, by Charles Avery Amsden. Pp. xiv + 103, pls. 59, figs. 46, maps 2. Southwest Museum, Los Angeles 1949.

*Prehistoric Southwesterners from Basketmaker to Pueblo* by the late Charles Amsden is the first of a series which was to deal in detail with the history of the agricultural peoples of the Pueblo Southwest. Dr. F. W. Hodge in his "Acknowledgements" and A. V. Kidder in his introduction describe the coöperation of the many friends of Charlie Amsden which resulted in the publication of this posthumous volume.

Before his death Amsden had completed the major preparation of the manuscript. Since eight years elapsed before publication, Dr. Kidder and Earl H. Morris, two of Amsden's closest friends, read it carefully and made a few changes in accordance with later findings. The excellent maps and drawings were prepared by Dr. George W. Brainerd and the half-tone illustrations were painstakingly collected by Dr. Hodge.

The frontispiece is the reproduction of a photograph of the author as most of us remember him,

against a background of southwestern clouds. A brief biography is presented by Dr. Kidder in the introduction.

Amsden's text opens with a prologue which in simple terms outlines the background of American agriculturalists. This is followed by a description, beautifully illustrated, of the Southwestern landscape and a history of the archaeological exploration of the region. Chapter II deals with chronology, all-important to archaeology. The system of dating by tree-rings, developed and applied so successfully in the Southwest, is clearly described.

The main body of the text presents the two established periods of the Basketmaker culture in detail. The remains of these earliest agriculturalists on the great plateau which forms the northern part of the Southwest have survived in extraordinary completeness. In most parts of the world archaeologists must be content with evidence only in the form of imperishable materials — stone, brick, pottery, and bone. In the dry climate of the Southwestern canyons cloth, hides, baskets, wooden objects, and even food are preserved. All of these are described and illustrated with photographs and drawings.

Following the descriptions of Early and Late Basketmaker dwellings, tools, containers, clothing, hair styles, etc., comes, in each case, a chapter in which the author presents a conjectural reconstruction of the life of the times. Such reconstructions are the avowed aim of archaeological research, but that aim is rarely achieved with the success found in this volume. That success must be attributed in part to the unusual completeness of the archaeological remains alluded to above, but the main component is the skill of the author. In most readable style he blends his intimate knowledge of the country with a keen perception of the life that the Basketmakers must have lived in it. The result is a book to be read and one not easily put down.

That result was Amsden's wish. His plan was to present the story of Basketmaker-Pueblo civilization for the general reader, not in a series of scientific monographs, but as vivid history — a record of the prehistoric achievement of mankind in the mesa and canyon country of the Southwest.

Because of this the professional Southwestern archaeologist will find the book different from those he generally encounters on the subject, and it will do him no harm. For as well as the general reader, Amsden also had the professional in mind. He firmly believed our corpus of knowledge of the prehistoric Southwest to be sufficiently great to permit a living history to be written. This he has done and done well. The material of archaeology is handled with such skill that the most critical professional will applaud the absence of specialized terminology.



Mastery of his subject permitted Amsden to discard the taxonomy of the field worker and the laboratory technician. Again, his colleagues in the Southwest will applaud the handling of the famous moot points: the origin of the Basketmaker, the source of his corn, the advent of pottery. These and other knotty problems are treated without question-begging and with due consideration of the various answers that the evidence permits. The interpretative chapters contain, of necessity, many inferences but these are quite evident from the language employed.

For many years archaeologists occupied in other fields have deplored the absence of a general work, accurately and competently written, from which they can obtain the story of the American Southwest in prehistoric times. Here is that work — for the Basketmaker periods: Reading it impresses most forcibly the great loss it has been that Charles Avery Amsden did not live to add the Pueblo volumes that he had planned.

J. O. BREW

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**Cultural Stratigraphy in the Viru Valley, Northern Peru: The Formative and Florescent Epochs**, by William Duncan Strong and Clifford Evans, Jr. Columbia Studies in Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. IV. Pp. xx + 373, pls. 29, figs. 82, tables 18. Columbia University Press, New York 1952. \$8.50.

This is the third detailed report to appear on the Viru Valley Project. The previous publications are: *Surface Survey of the Viru Valley, Peru*, by James A. Ford and Gordon R. Willey, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 43, part I, 1949; and *The Gallinazo Group, Viru Valley, Peru*, by Wendell C. Bennett, *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, No. 43, 1950. They cover units seven and six respectively of the eight-unit program. This report covers unit four, "Stratigraphy of the early prehistoric periods." The report on unit eight, *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Viru Valley, Peru*, by Gordon R. Willey, has just appeared as Bulletin 155 of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Of the reports still to appear, preliminary accounts have been published by Junius Bird on unit five — "Pre-ceramic Cultures in Chicama and Viru," in *A Reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology*, *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, No. 4, 1948; and by Holmberg, Muelle, and Nuñez del Prado on unit two, "Ethnology and sociology of the modern

valley" (for bibliography on this unit see *Revista del Museo Nacional*, Lima, vol. XXI, pp. 238-9, 1952).

The Viru Valley Project, according to Strong and Evans,

"is an attempt to coordinate phases of anthropological and allied research around an important central problem — the intensive study of human cultural adaptation within the confines of a small area over a long period of time. The Viru Valley in north coastal Peru was selected for this purpose since it was known to have been a small but important component of one of the oldest and most complex native civilizations in the Americas, and because it is today a minor but representative agricultural unit in the modern economy of Peru. . . . What was proposed therefore was to determine as fully as possible the exact nature of the relationship between man, a biological and cultural being, and a favorable but definitely circumscribed environment, the Viru Valley, from man's earliest advent to the year 1946."

The sequence with which the detailed reports have appeared makes it difficult, even for the Peruvianist, to comprehend as yet, much less to assess, the results of the project. Many of the conclusions in one report depend for their ultimate confirmation on another report. Even so, at this stage in the publications there are already some significant differences in the conclusions which have precipitated, perhaps prematurely, a minor polemic (see J. A. Bennyhoff's review of Ford and Willey's report, and Ford's rejoinder, in *American Antiquity*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, Jan. 1952). The purpose then of this review is to give a brief résumé of the present volume without entering into detail on points of disagreement which will doubtless be aired with equanimity when all precincts have reported.

In reading this report, readers will do well to heed the advice of the authors:

"The primary aim of this report being a reconstruction of a part of Peruvian culture history by the use of objective methods, we have tried therefore to present both our field and analytic data as completely as possible. The resulting descriptive sections, with all their detail and unavoidable repetition, will undoubtedly prove most boring to anyone not a specialist in the field. For him we recommend the brief cultural résumés at the end of each descriptive section, and the later comparative and concluding sections."

Although the secondary title of the study indicates that it deals with only the Formative and Florescent Epochs, part of the first chapter is dedicated to excavations and a discussion of the pre-Formative period of Incipient Agriculture which in the Viru Valley is called the Cerro Prieto culture. The significance of the work on this period accomplished by the Columbia group was to establish the sequence of the Early Guanaque ceramic period immediately

above the Cerro Prieto culture. For a detailed discussion of the Cerro Prieto and allied cultures of the same period readers are advised to await the publication of Bird's detailed report.

The remainder of the chapter describes and analyzes excavations carried out in the Gualaquiza period, which the authors place at the beginning of the Formative Epoch. Their work here revealed an important subdivision between the apparently non-maize Early Gualaquiza phase and the maize-bearing Middle Gualaquiza phase which is also characterized by the appearance of the Ancon (Chavinoid) ceramic series. This subdivision, already partially confirmed in Bird's preliminary report (*op. cit.* pp. 26-27), leads the reviewer to question why the Early Gualaquiza phase was not included in the Epoch of Incipient Agriculture and the Middle Gualaquiza phase placed at the beginning of the Formative Epoch.

The Columbia unit did not excavate in any site of the Late Gualaquiza period, which, as a matter of fact, remains to be established on the basis of Collier's detailed report.

On the subsequent phase in the Viru Valley, termed Puerto Moorin, which is characterized by a decorated White on Red style of pottery, the Columbia group reports the contents of twelve burials in a mixed cemetery. While this section of the report presents additional evidence toward establishing the independent status of the Puerto Moorin period, the chapter dealing with this phase is recommended principally for its frank and disarming discussion of the "probing technique" as well as of some disconcerting activities of its most adept practitioners in Coastal Peru.

The Gallinazo period, the third and last of the parade of Formative cultures in Viru Valley, characterized by negative painting in its ceramics, is discussed in the following two chapters. Strong and Evans concentrated on sinking stratigraphic trenches in two large Gallinazo sites. In the type site, Gallinazo, which was more extensively excavated by Bennett (*op. cit.*), the authors claim to have demonstrated the succession of Gallinazo over Puerto Moorin. In the Castillo de Tomaval site, they successfully showed the superposition of Mochica (the first Florescent culture) over Gallinazo, and again claim to have shown the sequence of Gallinazo over Puerto Moorin. On both sites the reports are sufficiently detailed so that the reader may judge for himself how adequately the authors have justified their interpretation.

It is to be regretted that there are few cross references in these two chapters to Bennett's study of the Gallinazo group, a situation in large part occasioned by the fact that both reports were being written up simultaneously. Anyone trying to grasp the essential

characteristics of the Gallinazo culture will be obliged perforce to compare minutely the two reports and establish his own correspondences. The basic difference of opinion between Strong and Evans' interpretation of the Gallinazo period and Bennett's is whether it terminated abruptly with the advent of Mochica or continued to coexist in a "decadent" form into the Tiahuanacoid (Epoch of Fusion) period. If the latter interpretation of Bennett and also Larco prove correct, the whole question of who built the monumental "castillos" in the middle and upper Viru Valley must be raised. Strong believes that the evidence adduced by the Columbia unit is sufficient to date them, or at least the Castillo de Tomaval, to the Gallinazo period. It appears to this reviewer, however, that the authors have overreached themselves in their claims for the "stratigraphic pit" technique insofar as the dating of large and complex edifices is concerned.

The succeeding chapter on excavations at Huaca de la Cruz is the climactic one of the book, and justifiably so. In it the famous Tomb of the Warrior God is described as well as numerous other burials of the Florescent (Mochica) period. Surprisingly enough, this report constitutes the first complete account of a Mochica burial site unit, if we exclude the Uhle excavations at the Huaca de la Luna which were published in three installments over a forty-year period. The discussion of Mochica burial practices and the inferences drawn from the graves and their contents are the most rewarding sections of the book.

Certain minor inconsistencies in the authors' classification of Huancaco (Mochica) ceramics should be noted. For example, the pottery in tomb II, Huaca de la Cruz, is classified differently in the descriptive section (pp. 149-150) than it is in table 14. Furthermore the shape of the plainware pot, whose classification was changed from Tomaval plain to Queneto polished plain, is not illustrated in the appendix for either type of pottery. Readers should also bear in mind that Huancaco Decorated is treated as a unit in the earlier chapters, but that it is divided into types only in the chapter dealing with the excavations in Huaca de la Cruz. Doubtless the task of classification was made exceedingly difficult for all members of the Viru Valley Project because of the unsatisfactory and incomplete condition in which the collections arrived from Peru.

In the succeeding chapter, the Viru sequence is compared with the next most northern valleys of Moche and Chicama. The authors give a general summary of the cultural configurations in each stage. Of particular importance is their discussion of the Huancaco (Mochica) ware from Viru regarded as a regional aspect of the Mochica style. This segrega-

tion of Mochica ware on a regional basis promises to shed more light on the development and spread of the Mochica style than the Larco approach which is strictly chronological. The authors present fairly strong evidence against most of Larco's chronological subdivisions of Mochica, and their discussion of the Mochica problem is very important.

"Wider Cultural Relationships of Coastal Peru during the Formative and Florescent Epochs" and "Conclusion" constitute the final chapters of the book. They are largely exploratory and admittedly based on speculation. While summarizing all available evidence on parallel developments along the entire coast, Strong and Evans point up the great amount of work that remains to be done and some of the more immediate problems. Throughout the book no dates are given. The reason for this, as the authors state at the outset, is that the current guess-dates are in a stage of drastic revision.

The complete and systematic description of pottery types by the authors and Rose Lilien is the best of its kind yet to appear in any publication on Peruvian archaeology. Junius Bird's notes on the textiles and Margaret Towle's on plant remains add to the completeness of the report. Noticeably absent is an appendix on the skeletal material. According to the authors this material was left at the Chiclin Museum for analysis. It is to be hoped that this fundamental aspect of the study and indeed of the entire project will not remain untreated.

The book is generally well presented with clear graphs and drawings. Photographic reproduction, however, is disappointingly poor. This is especially regrettable in the case of Mochica ceramics. One suspects that the authors would have made more of the detailed illustration of Mochica ceramics if the complete specimens had been available to them after leaving Peru.

The general excellence of the report lies in its complete, clear, and detailed presentation of the data. The critical reader who may disagree with certain interpretations of Strong and Evans will have little difficulty in reviewing the evidence for himself. The volume constitutes another outstanding example of the thorough and painstaking research which we are long accustomed to expect from the senior author and already receiving from the junior author.

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**Archeology of Eastern United States** (In honor of Fay-Cooper Cole, Chairman Emeritus of the Department of Anthropology, University of Chi-

cago), papers by 27 authors, edited by *James B. Griffin*. Pp. x + 392, figs. 205. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1952. \$10.00.

In spite of the work required of an editor in producing a publication consisting of twenty-nine chapters by twenty-seven authors, more emphasis could have been given to Professor Fay-Cooper Cole, to whom the book is dedicated. It has been customary to review in greater detail the life and professional appreciation of the man to whom such a book is dedicated. Twenty-six of the authors were former students of Professor Cole, either while obtaining their degrees or attending the Summer Field School under his direction.

The value and importance of this book consists of a controlled theme — a description of the prehistoric cultures ranging in time from ten thousand years ago to the settlement of Jamestown, Va., encompassing an area extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean, and from Canada to Florida. This is best illustrated by the chapter headings:

- I. Twenty-Five Years of Archeology in the Eastern United States. *Carl E. Guthe*
- II. Archeology and Race in the American Indian. *Georg K. Neumann*
- III. The Ethnological Cultures and Their Archeological Backgrounds. *Fred R. Eggan*
- IV. The Archeology of the Northeastern United States. *Richard S. MacNeish*
- V. Archeological Chronology of the Middle Atlantic States. *Karl Schmitt*
- VI. Sixty Years of Ontario Archeology. *Kenneth E. Kidd*
- VII. Outline of Cultures in the Ohio Region. *Richard G. Morgan*
- VIII. The Archeology of the Upper Great Lakes Area. *George I. Quimby*
- IX. The Prehistory of the Northern Mississippi Valley. *John W. Bennett*
- X. The Northern Plains. *William Mulloy*
- XI. Culture Sequence in the Lower Missouri Valley. *Carl H. Chapman*
- XII. Archeology of the Illinois Valley: 1950. *Donald E. Wray*
- XIII. Hopewellian Dress in Illinois. *Thorne Deuel*
- XIV. The Archeology of the Lower Ohio Valley. *Moreau S. Maxwell*
- XV. The Tennessee Area. *Madeline Kneberg*
- XVI. Woodland Cultures of Eastern Tennessee. *Chandler W. Rowe*
- XVII. A Frame of Reference for the Archeology of Eastern Tennessee. *Andrew H. Whiteford*
- XVIII. Prehistoric Cultures of the Central Mississippi Valley. *James B. Griffin*
- XIX. Survey of Caddoan Area Archeology. *Kenneth G. Orr*
- XX. Prehistory of the Lower Mississippi Valley. *Jesse D. Jennings*

- XXI. Alabama Archeology: A Summary. *David L. DeJarnette*
- XXII. Creek and Pre-Creek. *Charles H. Fairbanks*
- XXIII. The Cultural Sequence of the Carolina Piedmont. *Joffre Lanning Coe*
- XXIV. The Archeology of Eastern Georgia and South Carolina. *Joseph R. Caldwell*
- XXV. Prehistoric Florida: A Review. *John W. Griffin*
- XXVI. Historic Site Archeology in the United States. *Jean C. Harrington*
- XXVII. Dendrochronology in the Mississippi Valley. *Robert E. Bell*
- XXVIII. Culture Periods in Eastern United States Archeology. *James B. Griffin*
- XXIX. Appendix: Radiocarbon Dates for the Eastern United States. *James B. Griffin*
- XXX. Bibliography

To supplement the 392 pages of verbal descriptions, 205 figures illustrate the diagnostic cultural traits of the various horizons and the relative time periods. Students and non-specialists will find these illustrations most helpful in identifying the artifacts associated with the many and sometimes complex differentiations between these prehistoric American Indian cultures.

In Chapter I, Dr. Guthe reviews the historical developments evolving from amateur theorizing to present-day detailed and controlled excavations (Chicago technique). This could be summarized as: Birth, 1848; Adolescence, 1880-1920; Youth, 1920-1934; Manhood, 1934 onward.

He emphasizes the tremendous impact the Civil Works Administration followed by the Works Progress Administration (Federal relief agencies) had upon eastern archeology: the opportunities provided for the training of some of the present leaders in American archeology and the vast amount of work accomplished over a period of ten years, constituting a bibliography of more than sixty titles at the present time.

Out of all this the Society for American Archaeology came to life in December 1934, and North American archeology became adult. Then came professional theorizing, the taxonomic approach, overemphasis of techniques, work in the historic sites, ethnohistory for the more sedentary archeological cultures, which came remarkably close to the historic Indian cultures. From this it was recognized that a combination of techniques, such as taxonomy—similarity of objects—and temporal—time and space—produce a three dimensional relationship: areal, cultural, and chronological.

This chapter provides an excellent summary of a hundred years of American archaeology, from Squier and Davis' monumental publication in 1848 to December 1948.

To review in detail each of the twenty-nine chap-

ters would fill a complete issue of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Twenty-one chapters deal with specific areas and serve as an encyclopedia of the various prehistoric horizons within those geographical units. Depending somewhat on the amount and quality of archeological work performed, these chapters provide the student with the essential data existing up to 1948.

To the reviewer this publication is a centennial milestone wherein the last twenty years have accomplished as much as the previous eighty years of archeological efforts. This in itself reflects the stimulation and training provided by Professor Cole.

The twenty-one chapters summarize the work of the individual authors as well as some four hundred others whose eight hundred and fifty publications have contributed to the prehistoric problems. About three-fourths of these titles were published since 1930. Unfortunately, no formula could be fashioned to determine the thousands of tons of dirt that had been moved by scraper, shovel, and trowel over this first century of digging in order to obtain the artifacts and data.

As a result of all this work, the main outline of the development of Indian cultures within this prescribed area, ranging from 8000 B.C. to A.D. 1850, is now reasonably clear. The major periods which seem to run as a dominant melody throughout the various movements in the prehistoric symphony consist of: Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippi.

The Paleo-Indian was a nomadic hunter living along the edges of the receding glaciers and slaughtering large mammals such as the extinct bison "*taylori*" and elephant as well as other forms. Paleo-Indian evidence, especially in the east, is based largely on a diagnostic type of fluted projectile point commonly known as a Folsom point. Sites in the east where fluted points have been found, or where an assembly of chipped points is regarded as belonging to the Paleo-Indian horizon, include Shoop (Pa.), Guilford Focus (N. C.), George Lake (Mich.). Some fluted points were found at the bottom level of shell mounds in early Archaic sites.

From this primitive hunting-gathering level of existence in which man subsisted in small family groups constantly on the move, ancestral Indians became familiar with the most favorable areas where larger groups could exist. Flora and fauna farther south may have provided more attractive conditions than those near the retreating glaciers. Nevertheless, several thousands of years elapsed before man in the eastern part of the United States began to use polished stone implements and settled along the streams and ocean shores where the dominant diet



of beef was supplemented by mussels, oysters, gastropods, and fish. This addition to the primitive diet resulted in larger family groupings, at least during certain periods of the year. The majority of stone artifacts are chipped rather than polished. Projectile points changed in size and we find indications of the bow and arrow as well as the spear-thrower.

Such evidence in one form or another very generally is found throughout all the twenty-one chapters dealing with a summary of the specific areas. This brings us to the Archaic period somewhere between 2000 to 1000 B.C.

During the later phases of this Archaic period we find our first evidence of the Old World dog. In some areas the dog was interred with humans, a custom which disappears in later periods. The most detailed information for this horizon is to be found in chapters IV, XV, and XXI, dealing with pre-Iroquoian in New York and northern Alabama.

From here on the material culture of the prehistoric Indians becomes more complex and differentiated. Hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild indigenous plants provide a more stable economy. The diagnostic traits of the various groups become more specialized and represented by objects and material from outside their own limited areas. Copper tools are introduced, especially in the Great Lakes area, cremation burials are becoming more prevalent. A new physical type seems to have migrated into the northeastern areas. Polished stone tools supersede the chipped blades, especially in the north. The people are now aware of the variety of material available for their usage and are prepared to receive the all important gift of the gods—domesticated plants. Here, too, we find the earliest type of pottery vessels.

Details as to the origin or introduction of agriculture and pottery into the eastern United States is still debatable. Many theories are to be found in the respective chapters as well as the literature and site reports. The best accepted theories point to north-eastern Asia as the home of pottery, which reached this area during the Early Woodland period some time around the beginning of the Christian era. As for the introduction of domesticated plants, we cannot point to a specific region. Some of the cave sites in Ohio and Kentucky have preserved corn, squash, tobacco, gourds, sunflowers, nuts, seeds, and other edible plant food. It seems to have been used more in the Ohio Valley region during this period than in the Plains or lower southeast.

With this as a basis for a more sedentary existence we find a rapid development of material culture and the resulting ceremonialism, all of which is comparable to similar developments throughout the world.

The rapid flowering and domination by tribal groups with such resources at their disposal is characterized by the Hopewell and Adena people. Here again space restricts the details of this development, spread, and variations throughout the area. The chapters on "Hopewellian Dress in Illinois" and the "Outline of Cultures in the Ohio Region" give a bird's-eye view of this well-organized society. This Hopewellian phase represents the Middle Woodland Period throughout the area. The high level of ceremonial and artistic developments based on a long tradition of adaptation and exploration portrays a cultural peak among all the prehistoric Indian cultures east of the Rocky Mountains.

After reaching this high level of material and ceremonial expansion, there seems to be a very sudden decline. Many theories have been propounded to explain this phenomenon. The one factor which is evident in all chapters is the gradual invasion of a new cultural development, an influence or migration from the south or west. These new people, or a radically changing social organization, caused a very marked cultural devolution.

Some time around A.D. 1000 we see the beginning of what is called the Mississippi Period rising from the vacuum or ashes of the Middle Woodland or Hopewell period. One of the diagnostic traits for this new social organization is the construction of pyramidal mounds for the foundations of important ceremonial structures. The vast utilization of domesticated plants and a new form of social organization, partially derived from somewhere in Mexico, developed and spread northward along the Mississippi Valley. This new culture reached a climax in the southern states at the time when Columbus was making his discoveries in the New World. When Hernando De Soto made his first exploratory trip throughout the southern states 1539-1543 this Mississippi period reached its highest indigenous level. European settlement along the Atlantic coast did not penetrate or disorganize these highly developed ceremonial centers until after the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

On the basis of documents, such as the De Soto narratives, archeologists are able to identify the ceremonial paraphernalia recovered from the prehistoric and protohistoric Mississippi period sites. It is quite obvious from the chapters dealing with these details that the center of cultural, religious, and ceremonial influence had shifted from the Ohio Valley to the lower Mississippi Valley and eastward, including Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. From this new cultural center people, ideas, ceremonies, political organization now began to spread northward up the Mississippi River, introducing new subsistence patterns as far north as the



south central portion of Wisconsin. With established centers such as Cahokia and Kincaid in southern Illinois, Angel Mounds in southern Indiana, the Fort Ancient sites in Ohio, and Aztalan in Wisconsin, the remnant carriers of the Woodland heritage were gradually transformed and adopted the elements of a Mississippi culture.

The foregoing serves as a generalized summary of the prehistoric picture as it appears in *Archeology of Eastern United States*. None of the reports overlooks the protohistoric period after European articles became amalgamated with the archeological milieu, and every attempt is made to determine the ancestors of the known historic Indian tribes.

This brings us to chapter XXVI, "Historic Site Archeology in the United States," wherein the techniques of meticulous excavations have been applied to the verification and restoration of early European settlements in America. In conjunction with written documents—completely lacking for prehistoric excavations—the archaeologist is able to produce details of the material culture lacking in the early archives, the exact location of property lines and the outlines of building foundations. In collaboration with a historian, colonial architect, ceramist, specialist in European material culture, etc., the archaeologist is able to provide far more cultural history than can be obtained from documents. This relatively new approach in the United States is more in keeping with the methods adopted by the classical archaeologists. This chapter summarizes the work at Jamestown, Va., Fort Raleigh, N. C., Fort Ridgely, Minn., Macon Trading Post, Ga., and other sites.

Chapter II, "Archeology and Race in the American Indian," summarizes the physical types on the basis of a comparative study of skulls associated with specific archeological horizons. To the reviewer the method and conclusions are based on a complex variety of assumptions. An attempt is made to determine the physical type of the first migrants from Asia, the Paleo-Indian, without a statistically adequate sample. Physical anthropologists must determine as to the scientific validity of the proposed classification.

In chapter III, "The Ethnological Cultures and Their Archeological Backgrounds," Fred Eggan deals in generalities and cultural complexes covering the entire eastern area; nevertheless it is one of the most erudite of the papers. He reviews the various steps leading up to the necessity, for all professional archeologists, to recognize the importance of historical or "ethnohistorical" research if they are to make any sound reconstructions from their archeological milieu. The fact that many archeological sites deal with relatively recent Indian occupancy had led the ethnologists to project their data from the archival records of Indian tribes into the past, providing depth and ancestors to the linguistic and ethnological tribes.

Eggan not only recognizes the contributions archeologists have made, but points out the need for ethnologists to make more objective classifications of culture elements. Having worked in the field of social anthropology as well as recognizing the problems of an ethnographer, he points out the contributions that social organizations can make to the basic reconstructions of archeological horizons.

This monograph ends with an excellent summary by J. B. Griffin and the pertinent dates from Radiocarbon samples as of 1952. The twenty-two pages of bibliographical references cover the pertinent literature from 1794 to 1951.

One can readily surmise from this abbreviated review that *Archeology of Eastern United States* constitutes one of the most fruitful résumés of archeological research in this country. It will be a "must" for all professional archeologists and future students. To the collector it could serve as a perfect encyclopedia and should impress the layman with the need for preserving archeological sites and consulting an archeologist before man-made lakes, housing projects, and deep plowing destroy the evidence we require to solve some of our most important problems.

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PLATES

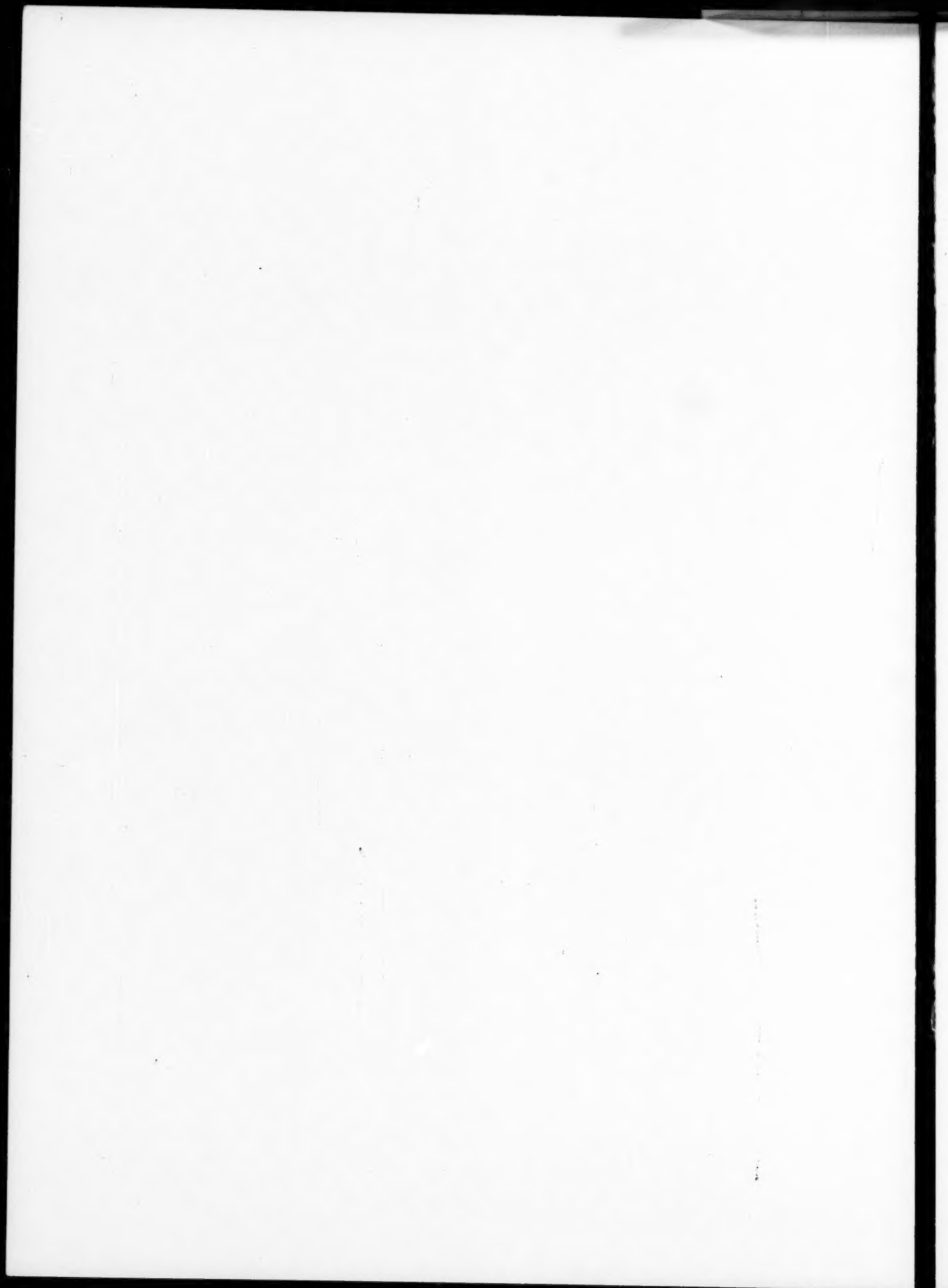




FIG. 1. LID: WOMAN'S HEAD



FIG. 2. (a) WOMAN AT LAVER

FIGS. 1-3. New York, Metropolitan Museum 06.1021.232



FIG. 3. (b) HIPPOCAMP



FIG. 4. EROS ON GOAT  
Athens, National Museum 12593

(Ure, pp. 245-249)





FIG. 5. (a) WOMAN AT LAVER



FIG. 6. (b) SCYLLA

Paris, Louvre CA 1341



FIG. 7. (a) DANAË



FIG. 8. (b) SIREN

Paris, Louvre CA 925

(Ure, pp. 245-249)



FIG. 9. LID: WOMAN'S HEAD



FIG. 10. HEADS OF YOUTH AND HORSE

Courtesy of the Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts  
23.32



FIG. 11. LID: WOMAN'S HEAD

Copenhagen, National Museum 4708



FIG. 12. KYLIX (INTERIOR): WOMAN'S HEAD

Mannheim, Städtische Museen



FIG. 13. WOMAN'S HEAD  
Athens, National Museum 1332



FIG. 14. WOMAN'S HEAD  
Athens, National Museum 1410



FIG. 15. WOMAN'S HEAD  
Athens, National Museum 12609;  
Nicole 956



FIG. 16. HELMETED HEAD OF YOUTH  
Athens, National Museum 1411



FIG. 17. NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN  
MUSEUM GR 1220

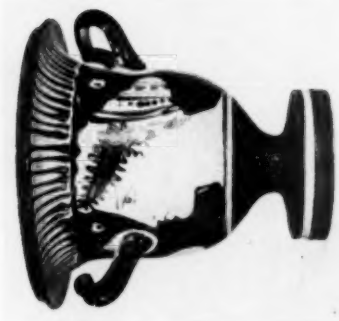


FIG. 18. READING UNIVERSITY  
35.IV.5



FIG. 19. MAINZ UNIVERSITY

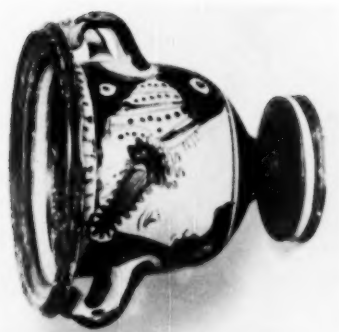


FIG. 20. LUND UNIVERSITY  
342



FIG. 21. COURTESY OF THE Wm. A. CLARK COLLECTION,  
THE CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
Cat. No. 26.690



FIG. 22. OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM  
1914.7



FIG. 23. PARIS, LOUVRE  
CA 580

(Ure, pp. 245-249)



FIG. 24. CF. PL. 67, FIGS. 7, 8  
PARIS, LOUVRE CA 925

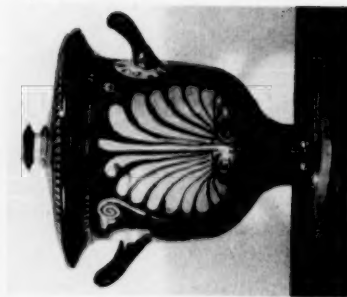


FIG. 25. CF. PL. 68, FIGS. 9, 10  
BOWDOIN COLLEGE 23.32



FIG. 26. CF. PL. 70, FIG. 17  
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM GR 1220



FIG. 27. BONN, AKADEMISCHES  
KUNSTMUSEUM 612



FIG. 28. CF. PL. 70, FIG. 18  
READING UNIVERSITY  
35.iv.5



FIG. 29. CF. PL. 70, FIG. 17  
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM  
GR 1220



FIG. 30. CF. PL. 70, FIG. 19  
MAINZ UNIVERSITY



FIG. 31. CF. PL. 70, FIG. 21  
CORCORAN GALLERY  
Cat. No. 26.690



FIG. 32. CF. PL. 70, FIG. 22  
OXFORD 1914.7

(Ure, pp. 245-249)





FIG. 33. PYXIS  
MUNICH, MUSEUM ANTIKER  
KLEINKUNST 7408 (3056)



FIG. 34. KYLIX  
MANNHEIM, STÄDTISCHE MUSEEN



FIG. 35. LIDLESS PYXIS OR BOWL  
WÜRZBURG 656

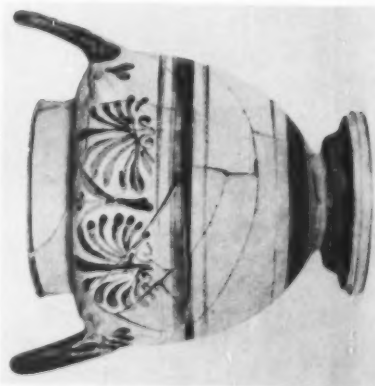


FIG. 36. STAMNOS-PYXIS  
READING UNIVERSITY 26.iv.4



FIG. 37.

KYLIX. LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE  
(Ure, pp. 245-249)



FIG. 38.

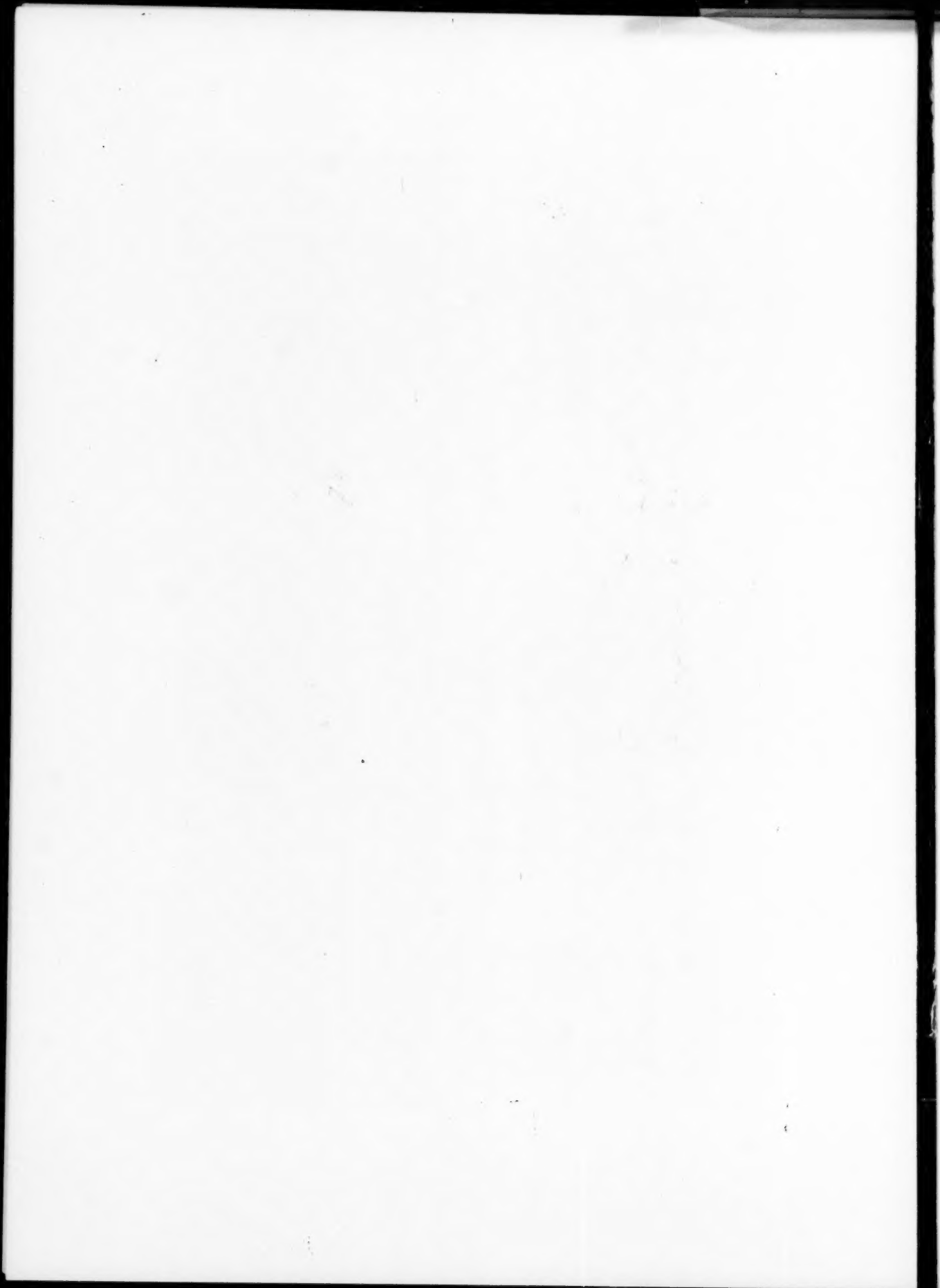




FIG. 1. HERAKLES AND OMPHALE  
NAPLES MUSEUM

(Suhr, pp. 251-263)



FIG. 2. HERAKLES SPINNING  
Reproduced by permission of The Walters Art Gallery

(Suhr, pp. 251-263)



FIG. 2.



FIG. 1.

BRONZE STATUETTE OF A NEGRO IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

(Hill, pp. 265-267)







FIG. 2. THE GALLATIN PAINTER



FIG. 5. THE EUCHARIDES PAINTER



FIG. 1. THE LESSER DOURIS



FIG. 3. THE EUCHARIDES PAINTER



FIG. 4. (b)

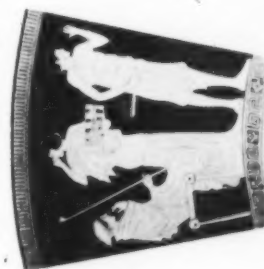


FIG. 4. (a)

THE DEEPDENE PAINTER

(Howe, pp. 269-275)

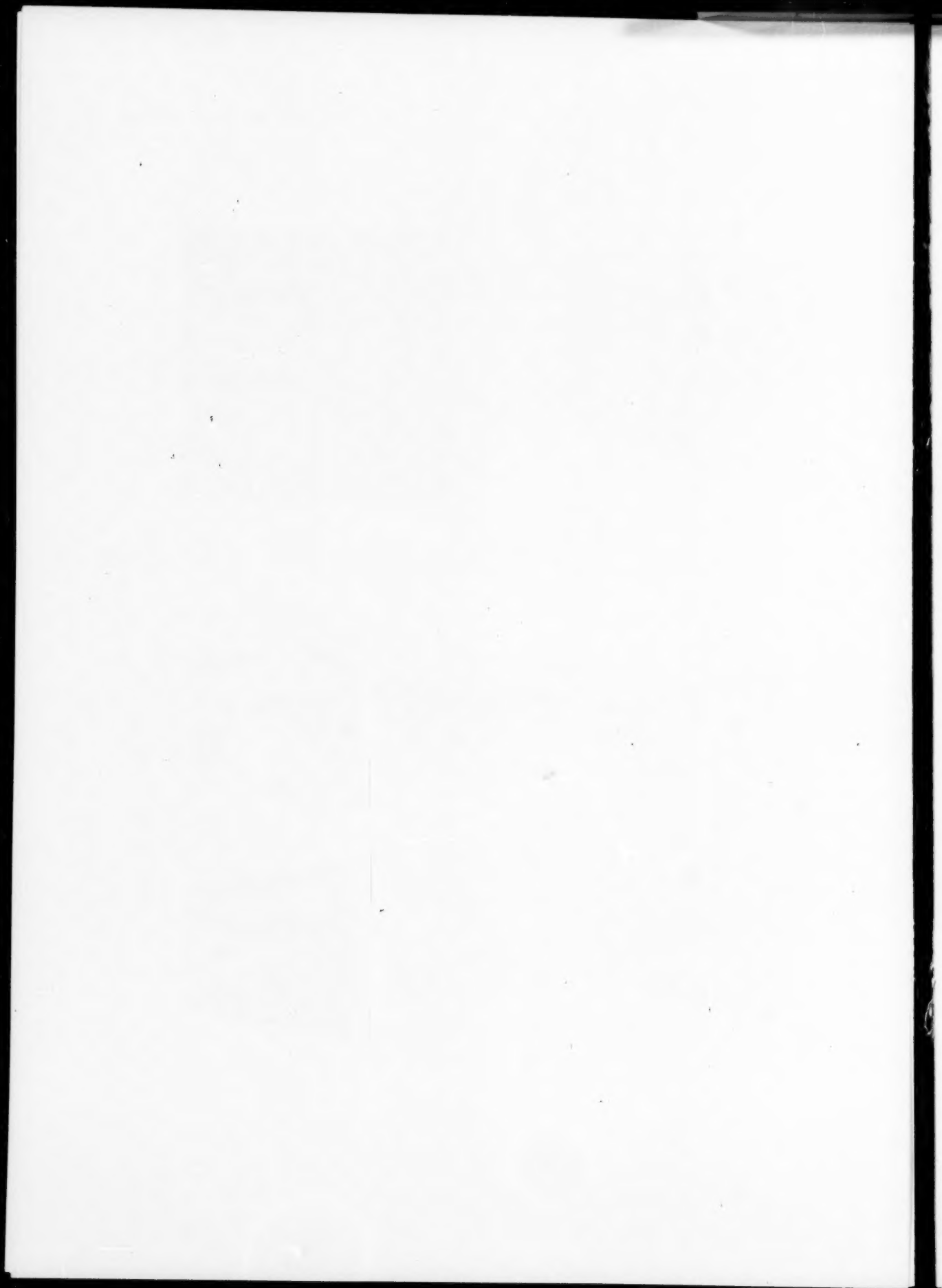




FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

(Kardara, pp. 277-280)



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

(Kardara, pp. 277-280)





FIG. 5. (a)



FIG. 5. (b)

FIG. 5. (a) FIRST PAINTER; FIG. 5. (b) SECOND PAINTER

Drawings by A. Kontopoulos

(Kardara, pp. 277-280)

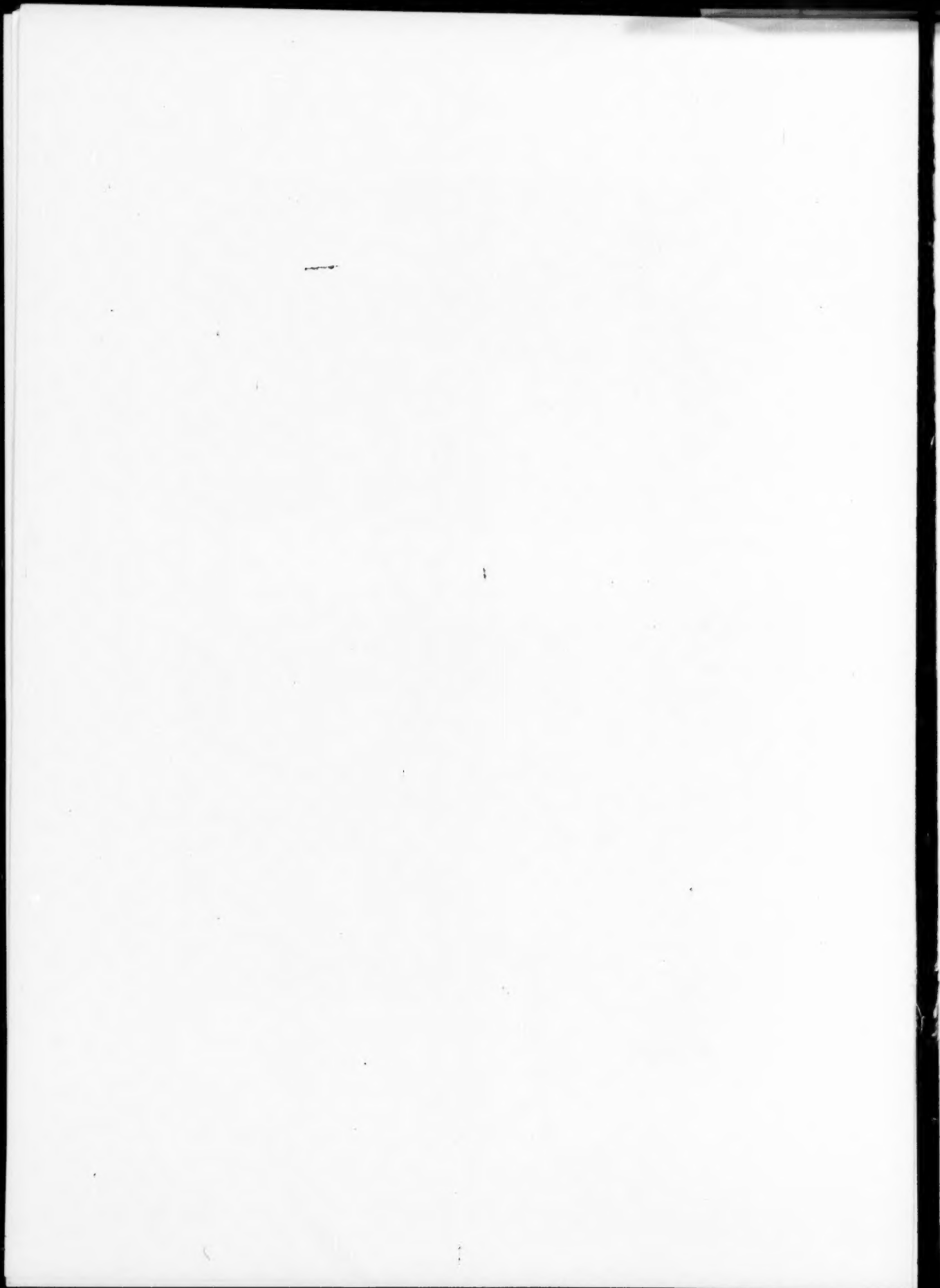




FIG. 1. EARLY HELLADIC VASES FROM RAPHINA  
ATTICA



FIG. 2. STATUE OF A GODDESS  
FROM THE TEMPLE OF POSEIDON  
ON THE ISTHMUS OF CORINTH



FIG. 3. ARGOS. KRATER FRAGMENT  
THE BLINDING OF POLYPHEMOS BY THE  
COMPANIONS OF ODYSSEUS

(Vanderpool, pp. 281-286)

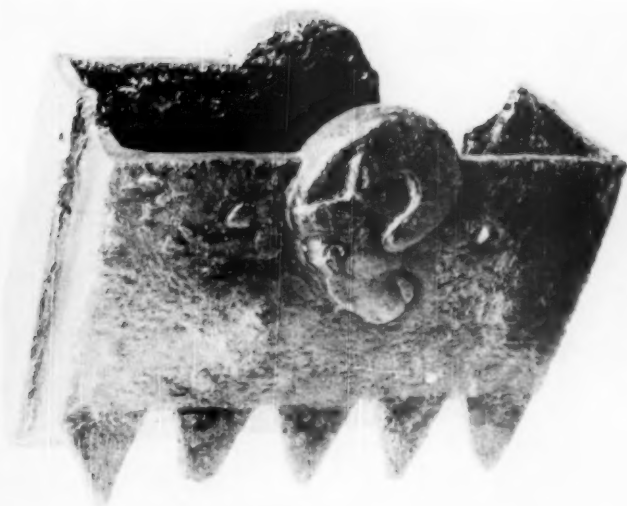


FIG. 4. BRONZE HEAD OF A BATTERING RAM  
FROM OLYMPIA



FIG. 5. OLYMPIA. TERRACOTTA STATUE OF ZEUS  
AND GANYMEDE

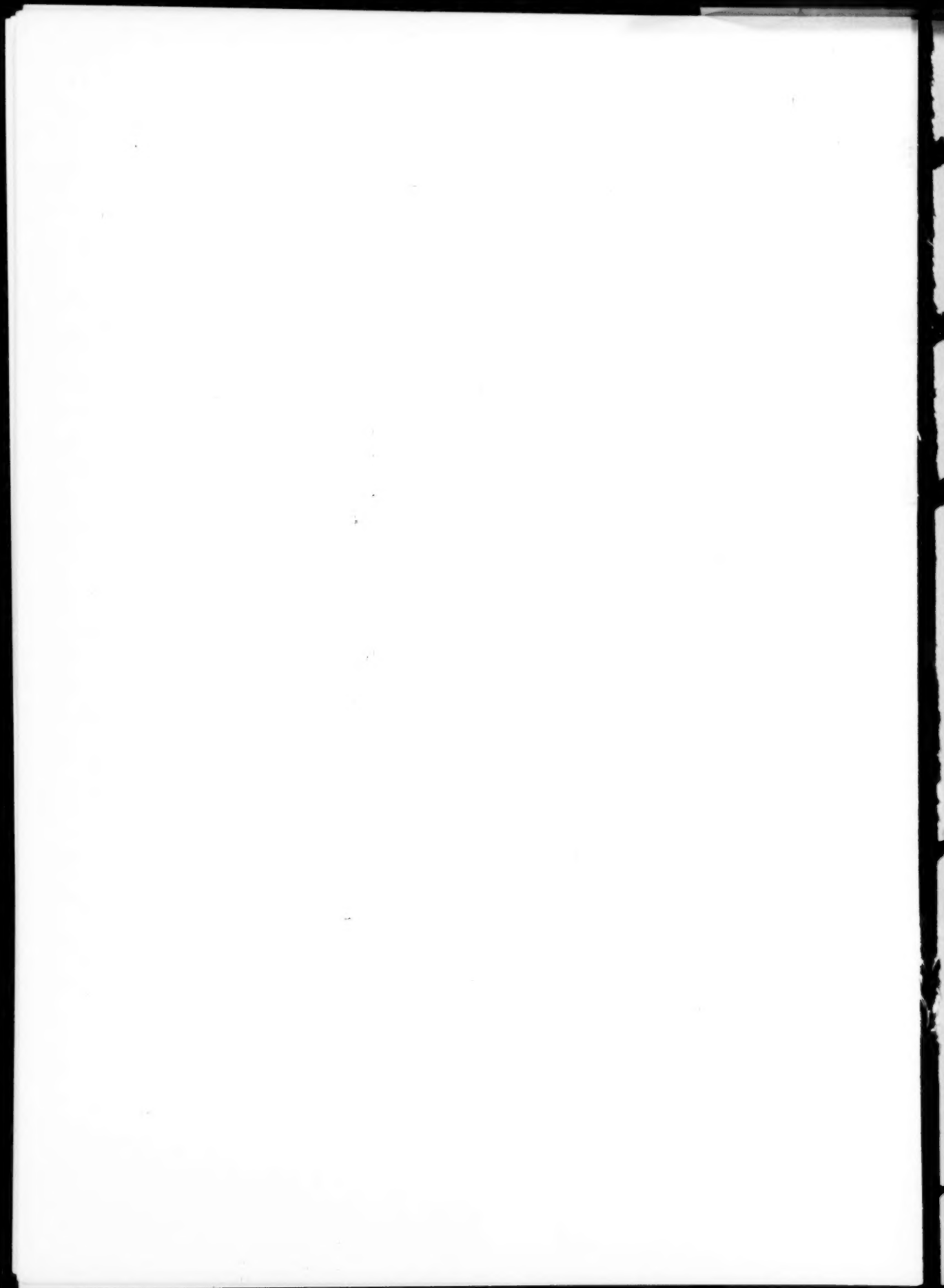
(Vanderpool, pp. 281-286)



FIG. 6. NICOPOLIS. STATUE OF A GIRL

(Vanderpool, pp. 281-286)





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## Old World Archaeology

The *Committee for Old World Archaeology*, the formation of which was announced in this *Journal* (Oct., 1952), has completed its investigation. As a result of its recommendations, a permanent organization, the *Council for Old World Archaeology*, has been formed and incorporated.

The control of the Council is vested in charter members, who were nominated by nine organizations, as follows:

Jotham Johnson (Archaeological Institute of America)  
Lauriston Ward (American Anthropological Association)  
Robert J. Braidwood (American Schools of Oriental Research)  
Irving Rouse (Society for American Archaeology)  
Bruce Howe (American School of Prehistoric Research)  
Richard K. Beardsley (Section H, American Association for the Advancement of Science)  
Schuyler Cammann (American Oriental Society)  
J. Lawrence Angel (American Association of Physical Anthropologists)  
George C. Miles (American Numismatic Society)

At a meeting in Cambridge, Mass., May 23, 1953, the following were elected trustees: Lauriston Ward (President), Noell Morss (Clerk and Treasurer), J. Lawrence Angel, Wendell C. Bennett, Robert J. Braidwood, Schuyler Cammann, Bruce Howe, Jotham Johnson, George C. Miles, C. R. Morey, Irving Rouse and Erik Sjöqvist.

A meeting of the trustees was held in New York, May 23 and 24. It was agreed that the Council should concern itself with the archaeology of all Europe, Africa, Asia and Oceania, for all periods of time, and that its major activity should be the publication of information in this field, chiefly in the form of annual surveys of archaeological news and selected annotated bibliographies.

Plans for financing are now under way and it is hoped that publication can begin some time in 1954.

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